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EASTERN EUROPE.

THE wearisome confusion of the struggle between the Porte and its domestic and foreign enemies is in no degree diminished. The insurgents in Herzegovina and Bosnia have refused all negotiation, and the Servians, who had been suspected of hoping to attain their objects by menace, have probably by this time declared war. For the moment diplomatists seem to have relaxed their activity, and the Russian Government, except as far as it acts through Serbia, complies with its undertaking to allow the SULTAN a short interval of freedom from pressure; but the Russian newspapers have become more clamorous than ever for interference in Turkey, and, if possible, more outrageous in their vituperation of England. An obviously false statement, originally circulated by the Berlin Correspondent of the *Times*, furnished the latest pretext for abuse. The Russian papers of course reproduce as an admitted fact the alleged rumour that English vessels had conveyed arms to the Turkish troops on behalf of their Government; nor will Lord DERBY's almost superfluous contradiction of the falsehood be communicated to Russian readers. That some irritation should be felt in Russia since the failure of the Berlin arrangement is natural and excusable; but it is difficult to believe that hostile journalists are wholly influenced by honest prejudice. Every serious politician on the Continent well knows that the policy of England is strictly pacific. The only definite measure which has been adopted was simply negative. The English Government declined to concur in the Berlin Memorandum on the ground of the indefinite and impracticable obligations which it might have entailed. Of the five Powers which had framed or adopted the objectionable document, some are believed to have regretted their hasty acquiescence. It is at least certain that the ostensible concert was at once interrupted, though it would have been impossible for England to offer material resistance to the unanimous decision of the Continent. It was to be expected that malignant scandal would attribute to the English Embassy a share in the conspiracy which produced the death of the SULTAN; but statesmen in Russia, as elsewhere, understand better the character and traditions of the English Government. That Lord DERBY and Sir HENRY ELLIOT should organize a palace revolution is a paradoxical and ludicrous conception.

From the beginning of the present troubles the English Government has never interfered in the contest between the Turkish Government and the insurgents, except by urging upon the Porte the expediency of concession and reform. At the first outbreak of the insurrection Lord DERBY disbelieved, perhaps on good grounds, in its earnestness and extent; and, if he thought that the rebellion was certain to be crushed, he was fully justified in deprecating its continuance. The relations of the insurgents with Serbia and Montenegro, and indirectly with Russia, were then imperfectly understood. It is still uncertain whether the population of Herzegovina would have persevered in resistance without foreign aid. Not without hesitation the English Government so far waived its own convictions as to assent to the demands which were presented at Constantinople under the name of the ANDRASSY Note. It was impossible to go further in the prosecution of a doubtful policy, and in deference to a precarious alliance; but up to the present moment England has given no cause of offence to Russia, and Austria is perhaps not ungrateful for an opportunity of evading dangerous liabilities. It is admitted by the

majority of Russian journalists that the prosecution of the national policy will involve war with Austria. If the temperate and prudent counsels of England postpone or avert the collision, a great service will have been rendered to both the possible belligerents. There is no reason to suppose that the German Government approves of a restless and aggressive policy on the part of Russia. The boasted alliance of the three EMPERORS was designed for the purpose of preventing or concealing a divergence which might in its possible progress have provided France with a powerful ally. It may therefore be conjectured that the pertinacious adherence of England to the principle of peace and non-interference is regarded favourably at Berlin. It is certain that France has no desire for war in any part of Europe.

If the Servian Government has been directed or permitted to declare war against Turkey, there will be some difficulty in preventing the extension of hostilities. In the first instance it is not improbable that the assailants may have the advantage. The Turkish army is not known to possess any considerable commander; and the troops have hitherto been badly supplied with provisions and war material. The combatants on both sides belong to hardy and warlike races; but probably the Servian militia may be more enthusiastic than the Turkish levies; and their Russian officers possess military experience and skill. In default of foreign interference, no early successes of the Servians will decide the contest. The whole population of the Principality is about a million, of whom it may be supposed that one-fifth are males of full age. It is undoubtedly practicable to bring into the field a large proportion of the inhabitants of an imperfectly civilized country; but the statement that 140,000 men are in arms must be rejected as incredible. The greatest exertions which have been made by modern nations in defensive war are those of Prussia in 1813, and of the Southern Confederacy during the American Civil War. The Prussian army included one-twentieth of the whole population; the Southern States sent about the same proportion to the field; and perhaps one-fifteenth of the Servians may be in the ranks of the army. If the war proceeds, both Serbia and Montenegro will probably be crushed by superior numbers. Grave diplomatic difficulties will in that case ensue, unless indeed a general war should have already commenced. One of the many difficulties of the Eastern question consists in the impossibility of allowing any Christian population to be subjected or restored to Mahometan government. The readiness of the Servians for war is in a great measure explained by their confidence of immunity. In the last resort they are secure from absolute subjugation, while success may be rewarded by an increase of territory and power. It is not surprising that the Turks bitterly resent the provocation offered by enemies who fight on unequal terms.

It is scarcely probable that the Turkish Government will buy off the Servians by a concession of territory. Even if it were possible to abandon the Mussulmans of Herzegovina to the mercies of a hostile Government, the present crisis affords the best proof that it is impossible to appease the animosity of the Slavonic Christians. For two or three generations Serbia has been practically independent; and, since the evacuation of Belgrade and other fortresses by the Turkish garrisons a few years ago, the Government of the Principality has no assignable cause of quarrel with Turkey. It is probable that the sympathy of the free Servians with their neighbours under Turkish rule is in some degree genuine; but their own grievances are

not so much imaginary as non-existent. It is possible that war may sometimes be morally justified on grounds of ethnological relation or of religious communion; but the Porte cannot be expected to appreciate the chivalrous sentiments of enemies who must appear to it as wanton aggressors. It is still more to the purpose that experience has shown that the Servians cannot be trusted to observe the terms of any convention. When, under European mediation and dictation, the Turkish garrisons were withdrawn, the Servian Government of the day probably gave ample assurances of friendship and allegiance. If Herzegovina were attached to Servia, a peace of a few years or a few months would be followed by the offer of Servian aid to the Bosnian insurgents, and by a further demand of territory. A benevolent and exclusive interest in the welfare of Eastern Christians is sometimes liable to come into collision with a sense of justice. It is difficult to see what the Turks can do to avert hostilities which are not even professedly justified by any kind of provocation. To its own revolted subjects the Porte can offer beneficial or plausible reforms. The Servians cannot be relieved from a domination which has long ceased to exist. If they are determined to fight, Turkey has no choice but to accept the challenge.

LORD DERBY'S statements in the House of Lords on Monday last were all that could be expected, and perhaps all that it would have been prudent to wish. They conveyed no information which was not already perfectly familiar to all politicians; but it is a negative gain to learn that Ministers share both the general opinion and to some extent the general ignorance. LORD DERBY, as late as Thursday last, was unable to say whether Servia would go to war, and it may be doubted whether the secret has long been known even to the Servian Government. It is perhaps worth while to remind pugnacious philanthropists that England has made far greater efforts than any other Power to improve the condition of the Christians in Turkey. The present Government has, with the full assent of the country, persisted in the friendly and pacific policy which has for a hundred years been a national tradition. It is possible that a change of circumstances may render necessary the adoption of a different system; but it was well to exhaust the chances of peaceful improvement before precipitating an appeal to arms.

#### EGYPTIAN FINANCE.

THE papers which have been recently presented to Parliament carry on the history of the dealings of the English Government with Egyptian finance from the end of the mission of Mr. CAVE to the time when the unhappy KHEDEVE was finally abandoned to his fate. For weeks and even months the Government discussed the question whether it would so far commit itself as to mention to the KHEDEVE the name of a Commissioner whom the KHEDEVE was to appoint and pay. At last it found a reason or an excuse for not affording him even this slight amount of help. England was kept clear of all responsibility, and so far we have reason to be glad. But the KHEDEVE was hardly treated. His affairs were investigated, his hopes excited; he got abundant lectures, and many outpourings of severe criticism, but nothing more. He must have been cruelly disappointed. He did not want to have Mr. CAVE sent to him; but when Mr. CAVE came, he told him all that Mr. CAVE wanted to know. Why should he have been asked to explain all his financial difficulties to an English Minister? The inquiry which Mr. CAVE instituted was not made for our benefit. The Government has repeatedly and consistently declared that it did not want any assurance of the ability of the KHEDEVE to pay the interest on the purchase-money of the Canal shares. It inquired into the embarrassments of the KHEDEVE because it chose to say that it was for his benefit that it should ferret out certain facts and lay them before the world. It took advantage of the influence which the Canal purchase had given it in order to make a statement as to the financial position of Egypt for the exclusive benefit of those who chose to deal in Egyptian securities. What would Spain think if we proposed to treat it in the same way—if we were to say to the Spanish Government that, if they told us all their secrets, we would in the handsomest way pay the cost of printing and publishing them? Of course the KHEDEVE hoped that very much more was meant, and that England really intended to help him when Mr. CAVE came armed with all the authority of the English

Ministry to look into his affairs. It seemed to him a very small thing to ask, in return for the information he gave, that England should merely suggest the name of a Commissioner to him, when France and Italy, who had never inquired at all, and had not published anything about him, were quite willing to go so far. LORD DERBY was right in refusing to name a Commissioner; for, as he justly said, if the appointment was to be taken as indicating an approval of a particular scheme, it was not for him to name a Commissioner who was to take part in working a scheme that was not workable; and the final scheme of the KHEDEVE was very far from being workable. The importance attached to the appointment of an English Commissioner is flattering to our national pride. It seemed to the KHEDEVE as if it were getting but very little to secure an Italian, and even a French, Commissioner, so long as an English Commissioner was not to be had. But then what was Mr. CAVE sent for unless England was to do something?

As the KHEDEVE was hopelessly insolvent throughout, and nothing could have really saved him, and the English Government was quite right to keep entirely clear of him and his difficulties, it may be said that no real harm was done to him by Mr. CAVE'S mission and the disappointment it caused. It merely gave him a certain amount of extra mortification and annoyance. But it is to be regretted that even this addition to his many burdens was gratuitously imposed on him by an English Ministry. Not only did Mr. CAVE'S mission do him no good and raise in him false hopes, but it was so used as to torture him in a very needless way. The publication of Mr. CAVE'S Report was ingeniously managed so as to do the KHEDEVE all the discredit possible. He was asked whether he assented to the publication, and he replied that he did not like it to be published, unless at the same time it were announced that an English Commissioner was to be named. If his credit was to be impaired with one hand, he wished it to be maintained with the other. MR. DISRAELI simply announced that the KHEDEVE objected to the publication. This was far worse for his credit than the publication of the Report would have been. A few days afterwards LORD DERBY telegraphed that the withholding of the Report was doing Egyptian credit much harm, and the KHEDEVE assented to its publication. The English Government thus forced his hand, and made him agree that his secrets should be told to the world, while he was still hoping to form combinations for which some degree of secrecy was essential. To the injury of publishing a statement about his affairs it added the injury of seeming to extort his assent when he wished for the concealment of things that ought to be known. But this was by no means the only use which the English Government made of Mr. CAVE'S Report. It afforded LORD DERBY a means of backing out of all assistance to Egypt, which he used in a way that was very hard on the KHEDEVE. LORD DERBY affected to treat Mr. CAVE as the author of a perfect scheme for the restoration of Egyptian credit, from which the KHEDEVE was wantonly departing. The KHEDEVE was addressed as if, having been shown the right thing to do, he was persisting in doing the wrong thing. This way of treating matters made everything comfortable for LORD DERBY, as it afforded him a pretext for letting the KHEDEVE drop; but it was scarcely a fair mode of treating this poor, bewildered, unhappy Prince. Mr. CAVE never proposed a scheme that was in any way workable. All he said was that, if the floating debt could be converted at par into bonds for fifty years at 7 per cent., Egypt might possibly find the interest. Mr. CAVE never explained how the holders of the floating debt were to be induced to accept the conversion of their claims, and this was always the stumbling-block over which the KHEDEVE could not pass. Mr. CAVE did not make any practical suggestion. It was not his business to make any. All he made was a calculation that, if something very improbable happened, then something else that was just possible might happen. It was treating the KHEDEVE like the dirt of the earth to call this a scheme, and lecture him for not adopting it.

It happened that one day in April the French Ambassador could not see LORD DERBY, and was referred to Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, and the whole matter received a new treatment at the hands of the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER. He did not of course depart from the general line which LORD DERBY had taken up. But he looked at a matter of finance with the eyes of a financier, and asked



one or two simple questions which went to the root of the matter. He suggested to the AMBASSADOR, who was very anxious to secure the concurrence of England in the nomination of Commissioners, that it would be desirable to know, in the first place, how the control over Egyptian finance which it was proposed that the Commissioners should exercise could possibly be carried out; and, in the next place, how the conversion of the floating debt was to be managed. The AMBASSADOR replied, with the innocence of a gentleman above details, that it was to be voluntary. Those who liked to take the new bonds might take them. Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOPE remarked that he could have understood what was meant if the KHEDEVE intended to impose a forced conversion, although that was a course which an English Government could not seem in any way to sanction; but that he was at a loss to guess what it was supposed would happen if the holders of the floating debt declined to take the new bonds. All the objections to the scheme favoured in his vague and airy way by the French AMBASSADOR applied to Mr. CAVE's scheme, if Mr. CAVE can be said to have had a scheme. Mr. CAVE never attempted to show how the conversion was to be effected. He never removed the objection that, if it was meant to be voluntary, it would be impossible, and that if it was meant to be compulsory, it would be discreditable. In short, his scheme was only useful as a device for throwing the KHEDEVE overboard. Left alone, the KHEDEVE soon went down into the sea of insolvency; and he was driven into the hands of people who cared for nothing but making the best bargain for themselves as holders of the floating debt. The result was very prejudicial and very unjust to the holders of the funded debt. They had special securities, and these securities were taken from them for the benefit of their competitors; while at the same time these competitors got a bonus of more than six millions sterling for consenting to an arrangement so extravagantly favourable to them. Happily, the project has as yet been a total failure; and it is possible that some proposal less adverse to the holders of the funded debt may still be made. It is not to be expected that the English Government should in any way interfere to see justice done to the holders of the funded debt. That bondholders should be left to look out for themselves is now an axiom of English politics; but the bondholders have much reason to regret that, up to a certain point, the Government did interfere in Egyptian finance, and so managed its interference as to discredit Egypt and predispose as much as possible the KHEDEVE and all concerned with Egyptian administration against any claims that English subjects may have to urge.

#### THE RAILWAY PASSENGER DUTY.

THE Report of the Select Committee on the Railway Passenger Duty will probably create some surprise. Nearly every public writer and speaker on the subject who professed to advocate the public interest has, from the first beginning of the controversy, defended the expediency of the tax. The unanimous opinion of all persons connected with railways to the opposite effect has perhaps confirmed the impression. As it was obvious that the Companies were not disinterested in the matter, it was assumed by a common fallacy that they were wholly in the wrong. In one sense it is true that it is for the interest of the State to maintain every tax on a special class, because it increases the revenue, and supersedes the necessity of imposing some alternative burden. The arguments of finance Ministers in support of special imposts are powerfully enforced by the certainty that unequal taxes will be popular with all who escape them. A property-tax on peers would produce a large sum; and, when it had existed for a few years, it would be regarded as a permanent charge on the estates which it affected, and as an indispensable part of the fiscal system. A scrupulous Chancellor of the Exchequer might well hesitate to profit by the facility of oppressing small minorities. The licence-tax on brewers affords a good illustration of the pleasure with which the House of Commons extorts money from bodies which are not powerful enough to resist. Year after year the remonstrance of the well-to-do sufferers is not only rejected, but ridiculed, partly because they are rich, and principally because they are few. It happens that from the nature of their trade they cannot add the amount of the tax to the retail price of beer; and consequently the con-

sumers take no interest in a grievance which concerns the producers alone. Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOPE lately explained that brewers' licences were originally substituted for the hop duty; but, if the change had not taken place, the hop duty itself would long since have been repealed. The particular tax probably does little harm; but the reasons which are alleged in its defence show the danger of partial or capricious fiscal legislation. There is no more reason for taxing brewers than for taxing tailors; and, unless the State has acquired a vested interest in the Passenger Duty, there is no more reason for taxing shareholders than for taxing the holders of any other kind of investment.

Railway shareholders are much more numerous than brewers; but they also are a minority, and the Companies into which they have been incorporated have for a long time been the favourite objects of popular invective. They and their predecessors in title have during fifty years entered into Parliamentary bargains which have on the whole not been disadvantageous to the community. The investment of 600,000,000*l.* at an average rate of between four and five per cent. has not been immoderately remunerative to the undertakers, and it has enormously increased the wealth, the comfort, and the general prosperity of the country. The superiority of English to Continental railways in comfort for passengers and in speed of conveyance both of persons and goods is seldom duly appreciated. Where there is one carriage in France there are two in England, and where there is one train there are three or four. Managers of goods traffic between England and the interior of the Continent find it impossible to induce their foreign partners to keep up on their part of the route the speed which is customary in England. It is proper that mismanagement, undue delay, and, above all, avoidable accident, should be vigilantly watched and practically resented; but habitual clamour against Railway Companies is unreasonable; and even if it were better founded, popular prejudice ought not to express itself in the form of taxation. The writer of the City article in the *Times*, who has indeed advanced equally strange doctrines on many other subjects, lately declared that the State ought to appropriate everything above five per cent. of the dividends of railway shareholders. If his suggestion were adopted, it would reduce the average dividend for some years past perhaps to two per cent.; and if it had been adopted when existing railways were projected, they would never have been made at all. There is no reason why the same theory of spoliation should not be applied to every other form of enterprise. It is true that few economic writers would be guilty of similar levity; but in this as in other cases exaggeration and paradox represent a common error.

The Select Committee on the Passenger Duty has arrived at conclusions exactly opposite to those which have been formed by the majority of writers on the subject. It will be interesting to learn how far the Committee was divided in opinion, for it may be presumed that the decision was not unanimous. The authority of the Report will of course depend mainly on the character and reputation of the several members, and on their greater or less freedom from probable bias. The Report has at any rate the merit of being founded on evidence, or at least of having been drawn up with the advantage of much detailed information. The railway managers and directors who were examined are subject to the remark that they are interested witnesses; nor could any witnesses have been produced on the other side whose adverse interest would have been equally strong. The principal officers of the Inland Revenue may be regarded as absolutely impartial, except as far as they may have an unconscious bias and laudable leaning in favour of maintaining any branch of the public income. The recommendations of the Committee are sweeping and decisive. It is proposed that the tax shall be abolished as soon as the financial condition of the country permits, and that other changes shall be made at once. The Committee recommend that the tax shall cease to be levied on fares of a penny or under a penny per mile, and that in urban and suburban districts all fares up to ninepence shall be exempted. Parliament is also reminded of the expediency of enforcing the obligation of maintaining ample passenger communication among all the stations on the line. The agitation against the passenger-tax was caused by the demand on the part of the Inland Revenue Office of passenger duty on the fast trains which began three or four years ago to carry third-class passengers at fares of a penny a mile. The Companies were still exempt if they stopped the train at every

station; but the official interpretation of the law proved to be correct, and it was found that a penalty had been unintentionally imposed by law on improved accommodation for the poorer classes. Successive Chancellors of the Exchequer have declined either to correct an anomaly resulting from accident, or to take into consideration the exceptional case of urban railways.

The passenger-tax was originally adopted as an equivalent for the heavy taxes which were then imposed on other kinds of locomotion. It was reasonably considered that railways competed with roads, though it is now denied that roads compete with railways. For the benefit of the poorer class of passengers, an exemption was allowed on trains stopping at every station with fares not exceeding a penny a mile. Since that time the duty on hired horses and carriages and the duty on horses have been repealed, while the burden on railway passengers is retained. The case of the metropolitan railways, as stated by the Committee, will perhaps surprise some of the assailants of the Companies. In 1865, on one of these railways, which is selected as a fair specimen, the Government taxation amounted in 1865 to 2.84 per cent. on the gross receipts. In the same year the tax on the gross receipts of the General Omnibus Company was 8.71 per cent. In 1875 the tax on the Omnibus Company had been reduced to 0.81 per cent., while the tax on the railway had risen to 12.98 per cent. Cabs and omnibuses use the streets without payment, while the Companies have constructed their own roads, sometimes at the cost of more than 100,000*l.* a mile. Railway travelling between the West and East of London is more convenient and much more speedy than any other mode of moving; and there is no reason why it should be specially discouraged by financial legislation. The Metropolitan District Railway, which does incalculable service to the population, would never have been made if its financial results had been foreseen. The policy of treating the unfortunate owners as hostile monopolists is scarcely intelligible; for they have a monopoly, not of profit, but of public service. In this case the Companies would for the encouragement of traffic immediately give passengers the whole benefit of the reduction. If the tax were entirely abolished, the provision of additional accommodation for passenger traffic would be greatly stimulated. Even if the other recommendations of the Committee are disregarded, it may be hoped that some instalment of justice will be allowed to strictly urban lines. The claim of an unlimited right to tax monopolies is made in forgetfulness of the concessions which have been granted on expressed conditions by Parliament. Railways are only partially and metaphorically monopolies; but any monopoly, as of a freehold estate, once legally enjoyed, is for purposes of taxation exactly like any other kind of property. Purchasers of shares have a right to look with confidence to the Acts of Parliament which are their title-deeds, and to invest their money in the belief that it will be only liable to its due share of public burdens.

#### FRANCE.

TWO speeches of some importance have lately been made at Versailles. It is scarcely necessary to say that neither of them was made in the Chamber of Deputies. The new Legislature seems resolved not to risk its good fame by any show of want of moderation even in work; and when political considerations demand, a speech, a banquet, or the meeting of one of the sections into which the Chamber is divided, is found to supply the required occasion. M. GAMBETTA has been speaking at a dinner given in honour of HOCHÉ; M. GERMAIN has been speaking at a meeting of the Left Centre, of which he is the leader; and both politicians seem to have found it impossible to say anything new in praise of their respective parties. M. GAMBETTA was exceedingly moderate and sensible. He chose to steer clear of ecclesiastical questions, and he consequently had no temptation to be anything else. So long as M. GAMBETTA has for his adversary neither a priest nor a layman whom he suspects of sympathizing with the priests, he has perfect command over himself. It is only when he is fighting the Church that he seems at all at a loss how to restrain his wrath. It is hard to say how far this apparently uncontrolled passion is a matter of calculation. Men who have their temper well in hand upon all points but one are rarely carried very far by it even on this one point, and there are reasons

which may make M. GAMBETTA not altogether disinclined to the reputation of inability to be moderate when the sins of the clerical party are under discussion. At the HOCHÉ dinner, however, his oratory was of the calmest order. He defined very happily the distinction between the existing Republic and those that have preceded it. Formerly people became Republican through sentiment or passion, and because they approved of the Republican theory. Nowadays people have become Republicans under pressure of the need for national reconstruction, and because they can no longer be patriotic under any other flag. M. GAMBETTA need not be understood to charge the Legitimists with not caring for France. All that is necessary to make his words true is the admission that, in the mind of a true Legitimist, patriotism implies an unchanging desire to make France a monarchy. A Legitimist wishes to serve his country, not as his country wishes to be served, but as he thinks that she ought to be served. These men, as M. GAMBETTA himself said, though rebellious, are loyally rebellious; and therefore the object of the Republican party should be to gain them over, to unite them in the common pursuit of Republican ends, without asking from them any disclaimer of the ends which they have hitherto been pursuing. The Republic, once established, must not be defended by violence or declamation. To employ either of these weapons is to put yourself into your enemy's power, to let him choose the ground on which he will give battle, to be yourself the first to blunder, instead of leaving him to bear this distinction in your stead. It is not merely the Republic that France stands in need of; she wants Republican order as well. And to secure this it is most important that the Republican triumph should not be too rapid or too complete. The obstacles the Republic finds in its path are, in a way, a gracious gift of fortune. Majorities without adversaries are often majorities without an equilibrium. The absence of opposition only makes them more likely to go astray. "Until the Democracy is thoroughly master of itself, enlightened and habituated to carry out the wish of the country, what I wish is that my party shall have a hard life." A hard life will give it the discipline which it needs; will teach it not to be discouraged by defeat, nor carried away by victory; will enable it to convince every unprejudiced Frenchman that, under the institutions which it favours, all the essentials of orderly government are to be had as completely as under any other form of government.

M. GERMAIN preached much the same sermon from a different text. There was less about the Republic, but there was much the same definition of what there remains for the Republic to do. Above all things, the country must not be startled. Even legislation and Parliamentary discussion should be kept within the narrowest possible limits. The work immediately lying before the Legislature is of a severely practical kind. Financial proposals have to be considered; grants in aid of education have to be increased; public works have to be developed. The most important men in the Cabinet are the Minister of Public Instruction and the Minister of Public Works. Upon the one it will devolve to hasten the moment when schools will be within the reach of all. Upon the other will come the duty of completing railways, improving canals, deepening ports, making roads, undertaking irrigation works. No additional taxation will be needed for the accomplishment of these beneficent ends. The natural increase of the revenue will provide for them all. This is a programme which can hardly fail to make the Republic popular with moderate men; and, in presence of such programmes, it will soon be impossible for the adversaries of the Republic to contend that the natural interests of the country are in any way neglected. The Empire itself did not pay more attention to the sober business of practical life. There is not a peasant in France who is not concerned in one or other of the objects on which it is proposed that the public money should be spent. He wants a road to carry his produce to the nearest market. He wants a railway to give him the command of some more distant market. He wants a canal to give him cheaper carriage than, in the absence of competition, he can obtain either by road or rail. Probably there have been times within the last five years when he has looked back with regret to the hopes which the Empire used to hold out to him in these respects. He turned Republican after 1870 because the Empire did not give him the security from foreign invasion which it had promised; but, as the recollections of the war have grown fainter, the regrets



for the money which under the Empire used to be forthcoming for local improvements may be supposed to have grown keener. M. GERMAIN's speech aims at checking these regrets by the resumption of the public works, the cessation of which called them forth in the first instance. And the difference will be that, under the present Government, such works as are undertaken will be honestly carried out; whereas under the Empire, if the works were not wanted for show, the money appropriated to them stood a good chance of being devoted to other and less creditable purposes.

With this substantial agreement between the Left, as represented by M. GAMBETTA, and the Left Centre, as represented by M. GERMAIN, there ought to be no great difficulty in dealing with the only question on which there is any threatening of Republican disunion. The Committee on the new municipal law are slow in presenting their Report; and it is suspected that the motive of the delay is a desire to devise some compromise on which the Government and the more advanced Republicans can agree. There is something edifying in the horror alike of Bonapartists and Royalists at the indignity to which the country is subjected by the postponement of the discussion in the Chamber. M. JOLIBOIS tried on Thursday to persuade the Chamber to invite the Committee to make their report within a week. The President would not allow this motion to be taken out of its course, but ruled that it must go before the Bureaux in the ordinary way, thus extricating the Left from the dilemma of either postponing the discussion on a Bill in which their constituencies are greatly interested, or breaking up negotiations which may only need a little time to bear useful fruit. The Duke of ROCHEFOUCAULD thereupon tried to undo what the President of the Chamber had done, by moving that the Bureaux should meet immediately. But no party can be held bound to dispense with the ordinary rules of the Chamber in order to hasten the fulfilment of its wishes, and the Left felt no difficulty in voting against the motion. The meeting of the Bureaux is now fixed for next Thursday, so that at least a week, and probably several additional days, have been gained for the cause of moderate counsels.

#### PAPAL SCOLDING.

POPE PIUS IX. probably excels all ancient and modern practitioners in the art of scolding. A hundred and fifty years ago great scholars were in the habit of making every critical difference a pretext for personal attacks on rivals who might have the misfortune to hold a different opinion from themselves. Some of their most learned successors in the present day are nearly as candid in the expression of their one-sided enmities; but secular charges of ignorance, dishonesty, and dullness are deficient in the seasoning of theological commination. The POPE, who, though he never leaves Rome, is now frequently seen by miraculous visionaries in various parts of Europe, has in other respects also assumed to himself some of the attributes of a disembodied Saint. His interpretations of the counsels of Heaven, though they are sometimes perplexing to the unfaithful, are promulgated with the confidence of an assessor who was present at the deliberation. It is intelligible that the signal failure of his long pontificate should appear to the POPE himself, not a result of error or impolicy, but a triumph of the powers of evil over a faultless martyr. It is indeed not exactly true that he is, as he says, a prisoner; but, as his meaning is obvious to all the world, his figurative language has no tendency to deceive. He has made up his mind that he will not set foot on the left bank of the Tiber, except as a sovereign, and the Italian Government is not willing to comply with the condition. In the same sense a man is a prisoner if he is shut in by turnpikes, and resolved not to pay the toll. The POPE probably suffers as much from grief and irritation as if he were actually imprisoned; and the physical inconveniences of his actual condition perhaps appear to be too insignificant for notice. The mismanagement which has alienated every Catholic Government in Europe, and which has forced friendly Protestant Governments into an attitude of active hostility, cannot of course be attributed to a Pontiff who seems to have almost forgotten the distinction between personal and official infallibility. His faults are to himself only wrongful sufferings; nor is he the first who has identified ill fortune with Divine approval. According to BACON, prosperity is the blessing of the Old

Testament, but adversity is the blessing of the New. The doctrine was once questioned by Bishop THIRLWALL, who, in answer to Dr. NEWMAN, expressed a doubt whether national poverty and degradation were in themselves conclusive demonstrations of the Divine favour; but it is perhaps natural that the POPE should adhere to an old and orthodox doctrine.

It is startling to find that the meritorious property of bad luck is an exclusive attribute of the POPE. His loss of temporal power is a proof that he is in the right; but in all other cases suffering and death are proofs that the victims are in the wrong. In his addresses to the German pilgrims and to the Cardinals, the POPE gloats over the tragic events which have befallen or may befall his enemies. He calls attention to the significant fact that RATTAZZI died without the sacraments of the Church, as it would seem from the POPE's statement, by an accident. The disasters which are incurred by the opponents of the Temporal Power are judgments, while the loss of his dominions by the POPE is only a proof of surpassing excellence. In the case of RATTAZZI it must be a comfort to reflect that the punishment is extreme and irremediable. PIUS IX. is thought to have been by nature a kind-hearted man; but there is a certain connexion between reason and good feeling. Long practice in self-deceiving sophistry seems to have obliterated not only the faculty of reasoning, but the capacity of human sympathy. A much more singular boast of gratified vengeance is the POPE's exultation over the deposition and death of the SULTAN. His predecessors four hundred years ago might well rejoice in any misfortune which crippled the power or punished the arrogance of the most formidable enemy of Christendom. But poor ABDUL AZIZ never threatened Western Europe with invasion; nor indeed does the POPE object to him either as the chief of the infidels or as a dissolute and mischievous despot. It seems that the late HUSSEIN PASHA was the unconscious instrument of revenge for a crime which neither he nor the SULTAN would have understood. In a late dispute between those of the Armenian clergy who acknowledge the POPE's supremacy and an independent body, the SULTAN, who probably only signed a decree drawn up by a Minister, decided in favour of the schismatic party. ABDUL AZIZ little thought that one of the most insignificant acts of his reign would be punished by the loss of his crown and his life. In this case also misfortune is the proof and the penalty of crime. It would be instructive to learn the special misconduct which accounts for the murder of HUSSEIN.

The next best thing to the death of an enemy is the hope that it will soon occur. The blessing of the Apocrypha, from which the POPE often draws illustrations, would seem to be the satisfaction derived from the death of sacrilegious kings. It is not clear from the POPE's complacent allusions to ANTIOCHUS and SENNACHERIB whether either or both of those potentates represents the King of ITALY or the German EMPEROR. The POPE confidently and cheerfully announces that sons will murder their fathers and fathers their sons, but nothing can be more improbable than that either the EMPEROR or the KING should share the fate of SENNACHERIB. In the same apologue the POPE finds a prototype of himself or of the persecuted Church in the character of TOBIAS, though the analogy is scarcely encouraging. TOBIAS, in the latter part of his life, found it expedient to leave his home at Nineveh, and to take refuge at Ecbatana; whereas the POPE has abandoned any intention which he may have formed of dying in exile. ANTIOCHUS, according to the Book of Maccabees, was not even murdered, but he failed in the siege of a Persian town which he wished to plunder; he heard of the defeat of his general, LYSIAS, by JUDAS MACCABEUS; and soon afterwards he died. Perhaps ANTIOCHUS is held out to VICTOR EMMANUEL rather as an example than as a warning; for it is recorded that he attributed his misfortunes to his plunder of the Temple at Jerusalem; and, possibly, if he had lived, he would have made restitution. Unfortunately the King of ITALY, when he was some years ago dangerously ill, declined to purchase the good offices of the Church by submission or repentance. At some future time he and the German EMPEROR will undoubtedly die like ANTIOCHUS; but there is no reason to suppose that either sovereign will previously surrender his conquests.

Austria and France are not exempt from the warnings which are addressed to Germany and Italy. Both Powers, according to PIUS IX., were formerly defenders of the Holy See, and both have abandoned their duty. The consequence has been, that they first went to war with one

another, and that afterwards they were successively crushed by a common enemy. If the disasters of the defeated combatants at Solferino and Sedan were punishments for sin, it would seem to follow that the triumphs of the conqueror were rewards of virtue. Austria, which in vain endeavoured to defend her own influence in Italy against the schismatic Piedmontese, might seem entitled to more generous notice. Again, in the war of 1866 every Catholic in Europe who preferred sectarian to political considerations both desired the success of Austria and believed that it would redound to the advantage of the Church. Even the POPE, if he ever descends from his region of courses and apocryphal examples, cannot but know that the French clergy, probably with his own sanction, impelled the EMPEROR by female and courtly influence into the war which resulted in his ruin. Notwithstanding the shortcomings of France, it was deemed intolerable that the predominant Power on the Continent should be ruled by a Protestant Government, and NAPOLEON III. was at the time of his fall the champion of the Church. In the meantime the main offenders continue to flourish. England, which is schismatic, and Russia, which is both schismatic and persecuting, have shared in none of the misfortunes which have overtaken their orthodox neighbours. Protestant Germany, above all, has risen to an unprecedented height of prosperity, and apostate Italy has been admitted for the first time into the Council of Great Powers. It would be interesting to learn whether any human being, except the POPE as far as he is human, ever connected the follies, the crimes, and the punishment of ABDUL AZIZ with a miserable ecclesiastical squabble to which he must have been wholly indifferent. The crowds of votaries who form an audience for Papal addresses are almost as puzzling as the Holy Father himself. The twists and quirks and crotchets of a single intellect may be explained by personal eccentricity; but that hundreds or thousands of tolerably educated men should adopt the POPE's vagaries is strange and mysterious. His public speeches are probably not delivered *ex cathedra*, so that the queerest paradoxes which they contain may perhaps be reconcilable with infallibility; but the head of a great religious communion might be expected not to fall below the intellectual level of an ordinary priest. If the tree is known by its fruit, it is for political botanists to define the plant of which the fruit is nonsense.

#### MISS MARTINEAU.

THE honourable, happy, and useful life of Miss MARTINEAU was brought to a close on Tuesday. She died at the age of seventy-four, after having borne with cheerfulness and courage the constant expectation of death for a quarter of a century. The complete autobiography which she has left behind her will give a full record of a life which was both eventful and interesting so far as this is possible for the life of an unmarried woman; and a summary of this autobiography, also written by herself, and confided to, and now published by, the editor of the *Daily News*, describes the chief incidents of her history. Descended from a French Protestant family exiled by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and long settled at Norwich, she had in early youth the advantages of a home where education was treated as the chief good of life, discipline was maintained, and economy enforced. Her natural taste for study was fostered by the calamity of deafness, which just at her entrance into womanhood came to exclude her from many of the ordinary pleasures and diversions of society. She gained a little practice in composition by writing for religious periodicals; but it was not until she was nearly thirty that she had formed and completed a design which had both originality and merit. Even then she found it almost impossible to induce a publisher to undertake the risk of giving to the world her *Politico-Economical Tales*. This difficulty overcome, and her tales published, she passed at once into a position of gratifying notoriety, dined out six days a week, and was reported to have composed her tales with the secret aid of Lord BROUGHAM, it being assumed that a mere unassisted woman could not comprehend the limited amount of political economy embodied in them. Other stories and other discussions of economical questions followed, until she was launched into a new field by a visit she paid to the United States. Received there at first with a not unbecoming rapture, she soon experienced the fickleness

of popular favour, and praise and flattery were exchanged for the wildest abuse, personal insults, and personal danger, when it was discovered that she saw a deficiency in the manners, and even in the morals, of those ardent defenders of slavery who shot and whipped all who disagreed with them. She returned to England to write her impressions of America, and she was induced by the indefatigable zeal of her publishers to write more than she intended or wished. The same fault indeed pursued her through life, and she was often badgered into composing fictions, for which she had no inclination, by the pertinacity of admiring editors. A severe illness, which her doctors pronounced must terminate fatally, was, as she believed, not only arrested, but removed, by the use of mesmerism, and she exposed herself to much obloquy by stating in print how she had managed to live by irregular means, when, according to all received rules, she was bound to die. When quite recovered, she undertook the considerable task of her *History of England* during the thirty years that followed the Peace of Vienna; and in this composition she found not only an opportunity of showing her industry, her powers of compilation, and her skill in marshalling facts, but an opening for the exercise of that complete impartiality to which she was delighted to think she had earned an honourable title by her refusal of a pension tendered to her, with his usual kindness and courtesy, by Lord MELBOURNE. To recruit herself from the fatigue of a laborious work she took a tour in the East, and on her return she showed how far she had wandered from the dogmatic traditions of her youth by her work on *Eastern Life*, which was soon followed by a more audacious publication, that of her *Correspondence with Mr. ATKINSON*, who had been her guide, philosopher, and friend in the paths of what is now known as Agnosticism. Her later years were occupied with a treatise on *Household Education*, a summary of COMTE's philosophy, a *Guide to the Lakes*, and a series of biographical articles published in the *Daily News*. As years came upon her and her health grew more and more enfeebled, she gradually gave up writing, and devoted herself to the cultivation of social ties and to the prosecution of useful works, by which her residence at Ambleside was constantly sweetened and ennobled. It was there she died; and if she may be said to have almost outlived her literary fame, it will be many years before the memory of her varied usefulness, her energetic kindness, her heroic patience fades away in the district where she passed so many years of combined activity and suffering.

Miss MARTINEAU had the great merit of correctly estimating the nature and extent of her own powers. In the summary of her life she judges, and judges with modesty and accuracy, exactly what she could and could not do. She was perfectly aware that she had not got originality of thought. What she had was originality of treatment. She comprehended the grounds on which political economists attacked the old Poor-laws, and she made a field for herself by popularizing their reasonings and conclusions. The form she adopted was that of tales with a purpose; and although such tales are now gone out of fashion since it has been discovered that, with a complete command of characters and events, novelists may prove anything, there was a time when tales like those of Miss MARTINEAU had all the power of novelty. Her mind, receptive, though not creative, was singularly clear, and it was a delight to her to bring down the thoughts of the few to the level of the many. To try to make COMTE intelligible was to her a task as pleasant as it was difficult. To clearness she added courage, and was never deterred from saying what she wished by the thought of unpopularity. She did not delude herself into the notion that her views of the origin of religion, or her agnostic theories, were specially her own; but she found a satisfaction in them, and she desired that her satisfaction should be shared by kindred minds. Her clearness of vision, her love of exactitude, and her power of putting before others what she herself saw, were displayed perhaps with the best and happiest results when she was dealing with the facts of her own personal experience. Nothing was too small for her, if to describe it and to dwell on it could add to the happiness of the humblest of human beings. She wrote a sketch of the duties of a maid-of-all-work, and of the best mode of discharging them; and she wrote it so well that ingenious critics, with their habitual impulsiveness, confidently stated that she had been a maid-of-all-work herself. She lived in the Lake district, and wrote one of the best of guide-books to teach others to go



and look where she had gone and gazed. She owned two acres of land, which she farmed after a fashion of her own, and she published a treatise to explain how much the energy of woman can get out of that limited amount of soil. She says with pride, in the conclusion of her summary, that her treatise on Household Education is more popular than almost any other of her works. That she should allow that a book about servants was quite the most popular she had written was more than could have been fairly expected from a woman who had written a History of England, made COMTE readable, and traced the origin of four religions. But the pleasure with which she grasped the thought that her efforts to make households more orderly had been widely appreciated was perfectly unaffected. To be useful to others was, after all, the first and dearest wish of her heart.

It may also be said that it was her good fortune to be exactly suited to the times in which she lived. The work she could do was a kind of work which her generation needed. There is so little bitterness now in politics that it is hard to realize the jealousy and rancour, the social divisions, the asperities of manner and thought which marked the period that began with the agitation of the first Reform Bill. An impartial History of England was then something equally new and valuable. Now the principles of political economy are accepted, and it is principally with the limitations of those principles that we are concerned. But when political economy first appeared as a practical power in English politics, it was regarded as something at once eminently subversive and odiously dry; and it was a real help to it when a woman strewed roses in its arid path by embodying its doctrines in a series of instructive and entertaining fictions. At present we are so accustomed to every one telling us in print every fact about their souls and bodies that it seems almost incredible that a woman should be attacked in the way Miss MARTINEAU was for saying that mesmerism had cured her. But some one must first bell the cat, and Miss MARTINEAU belled it; and she and some others like her belled it so effectually that, if any one now told us that he had got a little demon in his pocket which, when he was faint, pinched him till he got well, we should merely ask in which pocket he had got it. Except in small provincial circles, religious toleration is now so complete that a man may, in proclaiming himself an agnostic or a mystic, count on the complete indifference of his friends, if he has the qualities of heart and mind to attract them, and of his acquaintance, if he has the means befitting his position. When Miss MARTINEAU wrote, things were different, and she helped to create the difference. That the rich should not merely give to the poor, but think about them, is now an axiom of English society; but it is not very long since the notion that a person who employed a maid-of-all-work should study the lot of maids-of-all-work generally seemed a wild and visionary extravagance. Miss MARTINEAU did all these things, and it is perhaps owing to the success she achieved that she has been in recent years somewhat forgotten. Possibly, however, the value of her life has not yet passed away, and some of the lessons she practically taught need to be learned by her sisters. She had the merits of strong-minded women, without a trace of their faults. No woman was ever less desirous to parade herself before the public. She buried herself in the country in order that she might have a house of her own, with home duties and tiny local interests. She was not the patroness, but the friend, of the lowest of her neighbours. She did little things well, almost too well perhaps to permit the hope that many will follow her example. There are not many elderly single women with heart disease who can be expected to try little experiments in farming. But if she was superior to most of those who in some degree resemble her, she always kept the right path. The happiest life of a woman is perhaps attained when she adopts the opinions of a reasonably intelligent husband and conscientiously thinks they are her own. But all women cannot be happy in this way; and women who from isolation or the impulses of their nature are driven to think and feel for themselves, are at their best when, to the courage and clearness and industry of Miss MARTINEAU, they unite her love of private usefulness and her ardour for the well-being of a small, well-known circle.

#### THE LAND DEBATES.

IT is unfortunate that the time of Parliament should just now be wasted in idle speculative debates when so many subjects of practical importance claim attention. On Wednesday—but a Wednesday, perhaps, does not so much matter—there was a long discussion on Mr. POTTER's Real Estate Intestacy Bill; and Thursday night, notwithstanding the pressure of Government business which is pleaded as an excuse for giving up the Bankruptcy and other important Bills, was thrown away on Mr. BUTT's absurd scheme for applying communistic principles to landed property in Ireland. What strikes one with regard to Mr. POTTER's Bill is that it has a strong resemblance to some other little bills which are occasionally heard of. Confiding persons are sometimes asked to put their names on the back of documents of this kind on the assurance that it is a mere matter of form, and that no harm will come of it; but subsequent experience is apt to show that they would have done well to be more cautious. Mr. POTTER and the various speakers who supported him on Wednesday mainly directed their arguments to show that the measure would have little or no effect on the actual distribution of real property; and this is no doubt true in so far as the direct and immediate effect of such a law is concerned, for the simple reason that the cases in which it would apply would probably be very rare. As it is, there are very few cases in which intestacy occurs in connexion with real property; and if the Bill passed, it would only give those who disliked the method of appropriation prescribed a special reason for making a will. The first question to be asked in such a case is, therefore, is there really a practical grievance, and what does it amount to? In the course of the debate a case was mentioned of a farmer who had just put his money into a little estate, and was thrown out of his gig and killed on his way home from his lawyer's, before he had time to make a will, the consequence being that the whole of his property went to the eldest son, and the widow and children were thrown on the parish, while, if he had only been killed when going to the solicitor's, the property would have been divided between the wife and the children. This is only one of those hard cases which, according to a well-known dictum, make bad law; and it is idle to attempt to shape broad legislation to meet a possible contingency which may happen once in a century or two. Even in this very exceptional case it might be supposed that the heir, if only from a sense of decency, would do something for his relatives. As a matter of fact, in the few cases of intestacy which occur it usually happens that the operation of the law corresponds to the designs of the deceased. It is bewildering to read the accounts of contemporary society in this country which were gravely given in the House of Commons by members who live in the midst of it. To listen to some of them, one would imagine that it is the constant and notorious habit of landowners in this country to leave their widows and daughters to beggary, and to do nothing for their younger sons, while they heap up property on the heir. Nothing could be more contrary to the truth, as any one can see for himself who looks about him in real life. That there may be cases in which the widow or younger children are hardly dealt with cannot be denied; but then there are also cases in which the eldest son suffers, receiving perhaps an estate while the money necessary to maintain it goes elsewhere. There will always be an opening for caprice or injustice in the disposal of property, and this would not be affected by the Bill. It happens, as a rule, that most people who possess real estate have also personalty, and the personalty usually provides for the family. The widow has her jointure, the younger sons are started in life, and the daughters have also each a portion. There is nothing to prevent an owner of real estate from setting aside part of his revenues during lifetime as a provision for his family; and it is certainly not a common fault with English fathers to neglect their children, nor do we believe that eldest sons are usually so devoid of natural affection as to leave their nearest relatives to the parish when they themselves come into wealth.

These, then, are the plain facts—that there are very few cases to which the Act would apply; that in general these are cases in which the operation of the law agrees pretty much with the intentions which the deceased would probably have expressed in a will; and that, as far as the general influence of the rule of primogeniture is felt, it is not

touched by the proposal now made. It follows, therefore, that it must be for some other, and ulterior, object that the Bill is so keenly pressed, and this it is not difficult to discover. It is not to the direct, but to the indirect, effect of a change in the law that those who support this Bill look for the results which they desire. They think, and perhaps truly, that the passing of such a Bill would be a serious blow to the principle of primogeniture at large; it would be said that the highest political wisdom had condemned it, and by and by it might come to be asked whether this sort of wickedness should be left at the option of individuals. Even if the new law proved to be in itself inoperative, or nearly so, it would be always a step gained as a pretext or precedent for more extensive legislation. Nor is it any secret what is the source of this agitation. It is hostility to the family principle which has hitherto been the basis of English life. Mr. Lowe said that the solution of the question propounded by the Bill must depend upon the answer which was given to another question—What were the considerations which ought to influence a man when he sat down to make a will? But this opens up a very large subject. Whether the system of eldest sons is or is not a beneficial one is a question which may be fairly argued, and any logical influence may be brought to bear on public opinion on that point so as to persuade men to make their wills on a different principle. But it does not follow that the State ought to set itself up in such a case to determine authoritatively what it is, in Mr. Lowe's words, that "duty, justice, honour, and obligation" require as between a man and his relatives. That when a man dies without making a will the State must decide how his property shall be divided, is clear enough; but on what principle is it to decide, and what should that principle be? The natural and common-sense way would be, of course, to find out what is the general usage which people adopt when left to themselves, and to follow that. It has not hitherto been supposed to be part of the duty of the State, nor is it practically within its power, to educate fathers in the detailed management of family affairs; and if it once entered upon this task, it would find that it had launched itself on dangerous waters. The principle of the law as to wills is that a man has a right to make a will according to his own ideas, unless they are absolutely impracticable or hurtful to society. But what right has the State to step in and declare, with all the authority belonging to it, that a certain way of leaving property is a bad way, and ought to be given up, and that another way is, as Mr. BAXTER said, a natural and Christian-like course, and ought to be adopted? It is true that people would for a time perhaps be allowed to choose for themselves whether they would act on this advice; but the mere proclamation of an opinion on the subject by the State would necessarily have a serious influence. When it is asked why one rule should be followed in regard to real, and another in regard to personal property, the answer is obviously that they differ in their use and character, and require to be treated differently. Money may be invested and recovered with interest; but land once sold in patches is with difficulty put together again. There can be nothing more unreasonable or absurd than to denounce the working of primogeniture as a selfish and cruel injustice. It is a legitimate object of ambition to found a family which shall not be immediately broken up, and have its property and influence dissipated by subdivision. This has always been a strong fibre in English society; and the experience of generations has shown in the clearest possible way that, on the whole, it works well for all concerned. When the father dies, the family remains; and the eldest son takes his father's place as administrator of the property, with obligations as to those about him, which, if not enforced by law, are practically well understood and fulfilled. The younger children are thus usually able to maintain a position not inconsistent with their habits and pretensions; and there is also an advantage to the community in the fusion of classes which results from the necessity of personal exertion imposed upon them. A system which produces such results, consolidating not only the property of families, but the stability of the country, is surely not to be branded offhand as monstrous and un-Christian-like. Moreover this is not merely a question of large estates; it also affects a great many small ones, in the hands, as recent statistics have shown, of freeholders, members of Building Societies, and other scattered owners; and immense confusion would inevitably be produced by any change in the

law which multiplied legal difficulties and expenses, and placed an embarrassing responsibility on the Executive. The Real Estate Intestacy Bill may seem a small and simple question in itself, but it is only the outer fringe of a large subject.

As for Mr. BUTT's preposterous measure, the only remark that need be made is that it is surprising it should have been thought worth while to give any serious consideration to such a piece of impracticable absurdity. The character of the measure, as well as of Mr. BUTT's statesmanship, is sufficiently indicated in the proposal that the tenants now in possession of the agricultural lands of Ireland should remain in possession for ever, free from all process of ejectment, unless they can be shown to be maliciously wasting the soil.

#### THE HOLBORN IMPROVEMENT SCHEME.

NOT quite a year ago the Medical Officer of the Holborn District Board made an official representation under the Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Act with regard to the sanitary condition of a district of which St. Alban's Church may be roughly taken as the centre. The Metropolitan Board thereupon viewed the site, satisfied themselves that the representations of the Medical Officer were well founded, declared the district referred to an unhealthy area under the Act, and instructed Sir JOSEPH BAZALGETTE and Mr. VULLIAMY to prepare a scheme for its improvement. The area in question contains about ten and a half acres, one-fourth of which is occupied by business premises, while the rest is covered by a low class of houses, courts, and alleys. Sir JOSEPH BAZALGETTE'S Report begins by the admission that, but for considerations of economy, it might be better to clear away even the business premises, and spread the population over the entire space. This plan, however, would have increased the cost of the scheme by at least one-half, and Sir JOSEPH BAZALGETTE and Mr. VULLIAMY very properly determined that, as it was possible to provide the required accommodation for the displaced inhabitants without pushing the process of reconstruction to this length, the cheaper plan should be preferred. The factories, together with certain shops, situate within the area were therefore to be left, but all the dwelling-houses were to be removed, and the space to be opened up for access, light, and air by the construction of four new streets and five paved footways. The Report calculated that the new buildings to be erected on the sites thus cleared would contain about 1,000 tenements of one room each, 400 of two rooms each, and 100 of three rooms each, and that these rooms, if let at the present average rents, would produce a yearly income of about 16,000*l.* It is not perfectly clear, we may say in passing, by what process this conclusion was arrived at. The number of rooms which it was proposed to pull down was 2,234, whereas the number of rooms it was proposed to erect was only 2,100, so that, if the rents remained the same, it would seem that the new rooms must bring in some 700*l.* a year less than the old ones.

The Metropolitan Board took this scheme into consideration, and finally adopted it, with many modifications. It is difficult without the aid of maps to convey an intelligible notion of the nature of these modifications; but it may be said roughly that, of the proposed new streets forty feet broad, one was converted into a paved footway, another was carried but a little way into the area, instead of being taken completely across it, while a third was mulcted of five feet of its width; and that, of the five proposed new footways, three disappear altogether. Corresponding alterations were introduced in the spaces appropriated for new buildings. The principle on which the Report was based was that all the houses now occupied by poor inhabitants in the condemned area were to be pulled down. The principle on which the Metropolitan Board seem to have proceeded was to pull down some houses here and there, and to leave the rest standing. Thus the space between an existing alley called Baldwin's Gardens and a proposed new street appears in Sir JOSEPH BAZALGETTE'S map entirely covered with new blocks of houses. In the Board's map it has blocks of houses on the side of the new street, and three isolated blocks in other parts of the space, but Baldwin's Gardens remain, and the courts leading out of them remain. The space between Dorrington Street and Greville Street is treated in the same way. The Engineer's map shows it completely crossed by new buildings; the Board's



map shows it partly faced on the north by new buildings, but left just as it is on the north-east, east, and south sides. In fact, whereas the Report dealt with the area as a whole and parcelled it out completely into new streets and houses, the scheme adopted by the Board merely dealt with the fringes of the area, and left many of the condemned sites untouched. The second thoughts of the Metropolitan Board were even more modest than their first. Instead of dealing as they had at first proposed with the fringes of the condemned area, they contented themselves with treating a single corner of it. The 2,234 rooms, with their population of 5,515 persons, which Sir JOSEPH BAZALGETTE and Mr. VULLIAMY had proposed to deal with, dwindled down finally to 582 rooms with a population of 1,611 persons.

When this amended scheme came before the SECRETARY of STATE, it was rejected on the double ground that, as originally proposed, it was inadequate, and that, as modified, it was still more inadequate. We know only the results at which Mr. CROSS arrived, and not the process by which he arrived at them; but the case, as stated by the Metropolitan Board, seems to justify Mr. CROSS's action, even in the absence of the arguments on which that action rests. It will be seen that the Board are arraigned on two charges—first, that they unduly narrowed the scheme submitted to them by their officers, and, secondly, that they maimed even this reduced scheme. They contend, in answer to the former charge, that the cost of carrying out the scheme proposed by their officers would have been very great, and that the new buildings would have been of so superior a character that they would inevitably have been taken by the superior classes of artisans to the exclusion of the poor persons at present living on the site. Sir JOSEPH BAZALGETTE and Mr. VULLIAMY put the annual cost of their scheme at 7,966*l.*, against which would have to be set the ground rents of the new buildings, which they put at 4,500*l.* Thus the annual cost to the ratepayers of the complete scheme would have been 3,466*l.*, which does not seem a very large sum to pay for a great sanitary reconstruction involving the health and decency of between 5,000 and 6,000 people. The objection to the character of the proposed new buildings we do not thoroughly understand. If the Board thought that the class of rooms suggested by their officers was of too expensive a type, it was open to them to cheapen it, and yet to build the same number of rooms. But what they did was to reduce the number of rooms from 2,100 to 1,300, thus providing only for 3,500 persons, instead of for 5,515. That the new buildings proposed in the Engineer's Report were of a superior character is nothing to the purpose as regards this change. Why did not the Board provide for the erection of the same number of rooms of an inferior character? Again, the Report goes on the assumption that the rents of the new rooms will not be higher than the rents now charged for the existing rooms; and, if this is so, why should they inevitably be taken by the superior classes of artisans? If the Report had proposed to build rooms which must inevitably command rents which only the superior classes of artisans could pay, the objection would undoubtedly have great force; but, unless either the statements as to the rents now charged or the estimates of the rents to be charged in future are altogether wrong, the inhabitants of the condemned area would have been asked to pay no more for the new rooms than they have to pay now for the condemned rooms.

In answer to the charge of maiming even their reduced scheme, the Board admit that the whole of the property with which they originally proposed to deal is open to sanitary objections. Upon taking advice, however, they found that many sites included in that plan would not be practically available for new buildings, and could not be made available without incurring enormous additional expense. It is impossible, without seeing the particulars of the advice thus given, to determine its value. But it is certainly strange that difficulties which never occurred either to Sir JOSEPH BAZALGETTE or to Mr. VULLIAMY should have struck an unnamed adviser so forcibly. Where, for example, would have been the difficulty of clearing the space to the north of Baldwin's Gardens? There is no building of any importance on it except a small Roman Catholic Chapel, holding 300 people, which the Report proposed to rebuild on a site only a few yards off. Where, again, would have been the difficulty of clearing the whole space between Greville Street and Dorington Street? On the Board's own map it appears to be entirely occupied with poor houses, with no property near it which

it could have cost much to acquire. If the Metropolitan Board desire to rebut this part of the SECRETARY of STATE's criticism, they will do well to publish the advice on which they profess to have acted in reducing their original scheme.

#### MODERN POLITENESS.

NOTHING perhaps better illustrates the revolutionizing influence of social progress on our customary ideas and habits than the contrast between the modern and the ancient conception of courtesy. According to the latter, politeness was an emanation from a noble and reverential mind, and constituted one of its distinguishing marks. Even in the simple structure of society indicated by Homer, courtesy towards strangers was recognized as something to be recorded and extolled. The deferential politeness of Achilles when receiving the deputation of chiefs, and the friendly respect shown by Alcinoos towards the stranger Ulysses, are dwelt on as valuable and striking qualities of these persons. So too the whole of the poetry of chivalry is inspired with this idea of the nobility of courtesy. The connexion between external politeness and indwelling generosity of mind was regarded as of the closest; and this internal source of courteous manners was the object of continual praise:—

High erected thoughts seated in the heart of courtesy.

In contrast with this idea the modern theory of politeness seems to be that it is altogether or mainly a matter of rule, which anybody can master provided only he has the requisite intelligence. The moral aspect of the habit as springing from a certain style of character is overlooked, if not explicitly denied. The age which witnesses the production of shilling manuals of etiquette, by help of which the very churl in feeling may qualify himself in an hour or two for polite society, may perhaps be said to have succeeded pretty fairly in eliminating the internal and moral factor from the connotation of the term "polite." We may characterize this change in the view of courtesy as the substitution of the knowledge of a rule for the play of a refined emotion. Not but that in former times courtesy was aided by well-defined laws. Primitive societies had their well-understood duties of courtesy, and chivalry had its elaborate code of obligations. Only these rules were never regarded as self-sufficing, but were simply a guide to those whose native gentleness of mind prompted them to acts of politeness. In modern society, however, compliance with a rule is commonly viewed as the whole of politeness, which is thus reduced to a definite external art.

A complete study of the influences which have combined to bring about this revolution of ideas would probably involve the consideration of some of the most fundamental processes of social development. The first reflection which presents itself perhaps is that the art of politeness, like every other branch of social practice, had to be gradually constructed from the example and teaching of many persons. The modern rules of politeness really represent a slow accumulation of knowledge, which had to be drawn from the tentative practices of large numbers of people. In simpler and ruder states of society a man was thrown to a large extent on his own feelings as a guide to courtesy, just because there was not a sufficient consensus of opinion as to what constitutes true politeness. Nowadays, on the contrary, the experiences of many generations have combined to form a body of well-defined rules of courtesy. What has been practised by the best sort of persons or those commanding most influence, and has become approved by the many because of its utility or its grace, gradually solidifies into a rule. Thus politeness, like every other uniform practice, say that of dressing, could only become a well-defined art with its general rules when society, or some portion of it, had acquired a certain share of common knowledge, the fruit of many compared experiences.

But, again, politeness is not only an art which had to be gradually learnt, but also a duty which required a certain state of social sentiment for its enforcement. Courtesy and good manners belong to the less essential region of morality. Society has to dispense with them as common habits until it has settled the graver and more urgent matters of social security. They are the ornamental appendage of the moral code which society could not afford to purchase till it had first possessed itself of the essentials of this code. Now the inclusion of any previously spontaneous practice in the realm of duty clearly serves to mechanize it. For, first of all, it is the substitution of an artificial for an instinctive motive. When courtesy was not yet thus legalized, men were gentle in their manners from a love of gentleness, from a fine sense of its worth and beauty. But now that politeness has been largely reduced to an obligatory rule enforced by the sanction of social ostracism, there is no longer the same demand made on these spontaneous sentiments. A man who now cares to retain a place in good society will pretty certainly be well behaved, however little natural inclination he may have towards the observances of courtesy. Secondly, this transformation of politeness into a moral obligation has necessarily been accompanied with the compression and rigid limitation of courtesy. Whatever is to be enforced as a part of morality must be simple and easily apprehended, and, moreover, must not be too onerous; and it would be absurd to require of the miscellaneous group which constitutes a community or a social grade that amount of punctilious

attention and formal deference of manners which the reverential feelings of an individual member of it might prompt, and which even a code of honour self-imposed by a band of enthusiasts might exact. Thus the inclusion of good manners among social duties has had the effect of marring the beauty of the art, by cutting off its most generous manifestations. The exquisite delicacy of knightly worship can find no place in a system of rules to be uniformly enforced by general opinion. The noble enthusiasms of chivalry do not lend themselves to social legislation. There is a third influence, too, which serves to account for the rapid petrification of the sentiments of courtesy in the shape of rigid rules. Thus far we have spoken of politeness as of equal value for primitive and for advanced societies, though its general acquisition and its enforcement had to be postponed to a comparatively late stage of development. But, in point of fact, with social development the occasions for politeness multiply very rapidly. While civilization does away with the need of some of the most important and really beneficent offices of chivalry, it extends very widely the scope of the lighter acts of courtesy. In modern society a man forms many more connexions, meets many more strangers, is thrown more frequently into a passing contact with others, than in the simpler societies of the past. The mere fact of our present rapid means of locomotion has immeasurably enlarged the province of politeness. It is therefore of greater and greater importance for people to know how to behave towards strangers, and to have a definite set of rules to guide them amid these rapidly recurring relations. It is also of greater and greater importance to society to enforce such a set of rules, if it aims at imposing a certain style of behaviour in these relations.

Yet, while there is this unmistakable tendency in the direction of a complete reduction of good manners to a system of rather obvious rules, the admirer of indwelling courtesy need not fear that this tendency will ever be fully realized. However large a part of the domain of politeness may be systematized, there will always remain much more which is unsusceptible of formulation in general rules; and the growth of kindly feeling, which is commonly supposed to be a concomitant of social development, will, it is to be hoped, ensure the cultivation of this outlying region. The vulgar mind will no doubt easily content itself with a fulfilment of the clearly prescribed rules of politeness; but the truly gentle nature will feel that these cover but a small part of the ground. We are far from undervaluing the advantage of definite rules, even where the prompting sentiment exists. The very intensity of the wish to be courteous may render one ridiculous unless there be a knowledge of what is expected under the circumstances. A rather timid lady who has to entertain a somewhat formidable visitor may easily make a slip through the very agitation of her good feeling. One great advantage of rules of politeness, especially in the rapid movements of modern life, is to save us from the perplexities into which our polite sentiments themselves would frequently throw us. But, while admitting this, we may contend that, of all duties, courtesy is the one least susceptible of exact definition; what is respectful, what is most grateful to the object of our attention, varies indefinitely according to circumstances and to the temperament and tastes of the person who is to profit by our politeness. For example, an amount of attention which would be almost painful to a retiring young woman may be very acceptable to others of a more exacting temper. Nothing but really kind feeling and a quick desire to please can ever dictate all the fine details of gentle manners. The genuinely courteous man will always be distinguished by many signs from the man who is coarse and rude in feeling, but who manages just to execute the externals of etiquette.

Many people are probably apt to overlook the fact that genuine courtesy involves an indwelling sentiment. They fancy that kind feeling must prompt its subjects to a ludicrous excess of politeness. But this simply means that kind impulses must be supplemented by other qualities—namely, by a fine sense of the seemly and the ludicrous, and a certain intellectual quickness of mind. Without these a very kindly disposed person will no doubt frequently err. A young man who accidentally brushes against a young woman in the dense crowd of a skating-rink, and makes a profuse apology, is perhaps something more than polite. On the other hand, kind feeling must be assisted by intellectual qualities. The lady of fine tact who quickly perceives the sort of treatment best suited to her individual visitors, knows with whom to place them at dinner, and how to modulate the key of her conversation in passing from one to another, may not be a whit kinder at heart than the hostess who takes great pains to entertain, but always manages, through a certain awkwardness, to spoil the result. That is to say, goodness of heart cannot dispense with discriminating insight. Yet the kindness is as essential in the case of the skilful as in that of the awkward lady. The very tact by which the former quickly reads individual minds, interpreting their requirements, involves a lively sympathetic interest in others. The difference is that the estimable feeling exists not as a disturbing emotional excitement, but as a calm, controlling motive. It is the absence or repression of this interest which makes Englishmen seem unpolite, especially when travelling abroad. A Frenchman's politeness is no doubt in part a fulfilment of well-apprehended rules, but much of it springs directly from a respectful interest in strangers, a survival perhaps of that sentiment of reverence for an unfamiliar human presence which was a striking characteristic of antiquity, and which appears to have most completely disappeared among modern English-speaking nations.

## LORD MACAULAY AND "J. A. F."

JUST now, as is very natural, everybody has something to say about Lord Macaulay. And a writer in *Fraser's Magazine*, who signs himself J. A. F., thinks that he has something to say about him too. The initials supply a temptation which it is hard to withstand, but which we will do our best to battle against. Several papers, in referring to the article in *Fraser*, have leaped to the conclusion that J. A. F. must be that one among all writers of history or romance who has the least right to throw stones at Lord Macaulay. To convict Lord Macaulay of exaggeration, to show that, in an incidental allusion or in a short summary of a time which was not his immediate subject, he has made mistakes which could be corrected by men who have made that time a special study, is a very easy task. But for one slip, for one exaggeration, for one careless expression, on the part of Lord Macaulay, it would be easy to find a dozen cases of the grossest ignorance on the part of the writer whom some have openly assumed to be Lord Macaulay's present accuser. But we will make no such assumption. We will follow the ordinary rule of our calling. Till a man puts his own name, we will not give him any name. Long experience has taught us that this is the wisest course. We have known so many ingenious guesses at the authorship of anonymous writings turn out to be utterly wrong, that we will avoid the faintest chance of adding to the number. We would gladly believe that the assumptions which we have seen made elsewhere are as mistaken as the rest. At all events, J. A. F. shall be to us simply J. A. F. And the J. A. F. of the June number of *Fraser* may be easily defined as a writer who has gone out of his way to display a remarkable ignorance of the reign of Edward the Third. That ignorance he might have kept hidden from mankind by the easy process of forbearing to attack a chance expression of Lord Macaulay, which, as it happens, may be justified at every point.

Of the long list of charges which J. A. F. has brought against Lord Macaulay we will enter on two only. Of those which concern the controversies of the sixteenth century we will speak of one only. The history of the reign of Henry the Eighth and his immediate successors is just now making. Mr. Brewer, Mr. Pocock, and Lord Acton are busy upon it. And it appears from the pages of a weekly contemporary that they do not always agree on every point. When men like these, who know what evidence and criticism are, are working at a period, we feel sure that it is prudent in ourselves, we suspect that it would be prudent in J. A. F., to stand by and not rashly commit ourselves till their work is done.

On the points which arise in that period we will therefore only speak of one. That is one into which we need not go to any documents or to their modern expounders, but which calls for no guides to our path but Cocker and Colenso. Who has not heard of the 72,000 people hanged under Henry the Eighth? J. A. F. says with truth that it has been repeated in every popular History of England, and by Lord Macaulay among others. J. A. F. tells us, also with truth, that "the authority for this statement is a Bishop of Lisieux, whom Jerome Cardan affirms to have told him so in a calculation of the horoscope of Edward VI. in the midst of a medley of nonsense about the influence of the planets on the character of Henry." Now we may here remark that, if this mention of the horoscope and the planets is meant to throw discredit on the statement of the Bishop, it is quite off the mark. We know nothing as to the personal value of the Bishop's statement. It may have been truthful or untruthful, well informed or ill informed. But the fact that he, like the great mass of mankind in his time, believed in judicial astrology, and talked what we now know to be nonsense about it, does not make his testimony either better or worse. That he thought that the planets had something to do with forming Henry the Eighth's character in no way impeaches his value, either as a witness or as a judge, with regard to the facts of Henry's character. It would be about as reasonable to object to his testimony that he knew nothing about gravitation and the circulation of the blood, about steam-engines and electric telegraphs, and that he would most likely have laughed at any one who should have told him about such things. We have no means of judging of the value of his witness; still there is a certain satisfaction in having to deal face to face with a flesh and blood Bishop of Lisieux, and not, as we had to deal years ago in a controversy on the same point, with a shadowy "unknown foreign ecclesiastic." J. A. F. has, much to his credit, studied the geography of Normandy, and he knows what is meant by a Bishop of Lexovia.

From the date we should guess that the Bishop in question was James d'Annebaut, Bishop of Lisieux from 1543 to 1558, who was made Cardinal in 1544, and who is described as "vir multis virtutibus ornatissimus." But, if possible, we would believe that it was his successor, John Hennuyer, who so nobly withstood the orders of Charles the Ninth for a massacre of the Protestants of Lisieux, and who had the satisfaction of winning them over to the faith of which he showed himself so worthy a representative. But, whoever the Bishop was, and whatever may be the worth of his witness, let us look at his statement in itself. We have long ago learned that figures are apt to be mythical in all times and places, and that they are specially apt to be mythical in matters of massacres and executions. We have a little more respect for the Prince of Orange and Grotius than J. A. F. seems to have. Still we have no doubt that the statement that 100,000 people were put to death in the Netherlands under the edict of Charles the Fifth is greatly exaggerated; and we can well believe



that the 72,000 people put to death under Henry the Eighth is an exaggeration also. But we are a little startled when J. A. F. says, "From the records of Assizes and Commissions, it would appear that, if we divide the 72,000 by 72, we shall be considerably over the mark."

We appeal unto Cocker. We appeal unto a fellow-worker of J. A. F. In the same number of *Fraser's Magazine* which contains J. A. F.'s attack on Lord Macaulay is an article headed "Quarter Sessions under Queen Elizabeth," an article which is evidently written with great care from the records of the Quarter Sessions of Devonshire. From that article it appears that 74 persons were hanged in Devonshire alone in the year 1598. The writer of the article tells us that the numbers fluctuate greatly from year to year, and that year seems to have been one of exceptional severity. We must also remember that Devonshire is one of the largest English counties, and that it cannot be reasonably expected that an equal number would ever be hanged in Rutland or Bedfordshire. If it were an average year in an average county, we should multiply 74, first by 39, the number of English counties at the time, and then by 38, the number of the years of Henry the Eighth's reign. This process would give us 109,668 as the probable number of hangings during the reign of Henry the Eighth. But, as we are not dealing with an average year or with an average county, such a reckoning would be unfair. On the other hand, we must remember that, though Devonshire would naturally provide more hangings than the small midland counties, yet the border counties, though of smaller extent than Devonshire, would be likely to supply more hangings still. And those who believe in Lord Macaulay's doctrine of progress which is so bitterly scoffed at by J. A. F. will hope that the amount of yearly slaughter under Elizabeth would be less than it was under Henry the Eighth. But let us take only the half of the sum which we reached by our first reckoning. That process gives us 54,834 as a probable number of hangings for the 38 years of Henry the Eighth. And such a sum at least comes much nearer to the 72,000 of the Bishop of Lisieux than to the alternative of less than 1,000 suggested by J. A. F.

But we come to the more important case. In his essay on Hallam's *Constitutional History*, Lord Macaulay dwells with much truth, power, and clearness on the nature and extent of the constitutional checks on the authority of a King of England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He compares those checks with those which existed at the time in other lands; he points out the mistaken views of Hume; he goes on to show the effects that the sixteenth century had both in England and elsewhere. All this is done in Lord Macaulay's best manner. It is not likely that Lord Macaulay had studied the history of those ages in any great detail. It is likely that if, without further study, he had sat down to write about them in detail, he would have made many mistakes. But he had thoroughly mastered their general character and their bearing on the ages which followed. And his clear sketch of their character and bearing would have lost very little in value if it had actually contained a mistake in some incidental reference. Of course strict accuracy is best in all times and places, because any mistake may lead some one astray. But the lesson which Lord Macaulay is here trying to enforce would be just as true and valuable though in drawing it he might have incidentally mistaken the stages in a genealogy, or have placed a battle or a treaty in a wrong place or a wrong year.

Now J. A. F. attempts to fix a charge of inaccuracy on Lord Macaulay in the picture of these centuries. But the attempt signally fails. The inaccurate, the utterly ignorant, person is not Lord Macaulay, but J. A. F. himself. Lord Macaulay is speaking of the ease with which an unpopular King could be got rid of in those days:—

In such times a Sovereign like Louis the Fifteenth or the Emperor Paul would have been pulled down before his misgovernment had lasted a month. We find that all the fame and influence of our Edward the Third could not save his Madame de Pompadour from the effects of the public hatred.

Any critic who chose might here point out a clear exaggeration on Lord Macaulay's part. His "month" is much too short a time. Misgovernment might in those days go on for months, or even years, at one end of a kingdom, before people knew much about it at the other end. But the general proposition is perfectly true; the example is well and appositely chosen. It is to this example that J. A. F. takes exception:—

The character of Edward III. is quietly sacrificed by the assumption of his supposed relations with Alice Perrers. Did Lord Macaulay ever trouble himself to ascertain who Alice Perrers was, and what was the evidence for the scandal against the King? Alice Perrers was a lady of vast hereditary wealth, the wife of a man who had been Viceroy of Ireland, and residing with her husband at Edward's Court. Both she and he enjoyed the confidence of the King, and her interference in her husband's interests in a matter connected with his Irish government excited the anger of the House of Lords. She was banished, but she was a favourite with the House of Commons. At their intersection the sentence against her was reversed. [reversed?] She returned to her estates in Hertfordshire, where she fell into a long and bitter lawsuit with the Abbot of St. Alban's, and a St. Alban's monk is the only authority for her having been Edward's mistress.

That by Edward the Third's "Madame de Pompadour" Lord Macaulay meant Alice Perrers there can be no reasonable doubt. But did J. A. F., who is so zealous for the character of Edward in these matters, who sneers at Lord Macaulay for "quietly sacrificing it," ever "take the trouble to ascertain" whether Edward had any character to sacrifice? Alice herself is rather a crony of ours. We had a little dispute about her fifteen years back, and

we then ventured to put in a word on her behalf. We ventured to hint that, after all, she might have been "as respectable as Abishag." But when we drew this illustration from the life of the Hebrew king, we did not forget that the possibly innocent Abishag had been preceded by an undoubtedly guilty Bathsheba. In truth, as far as Bathsheba is concerned, the illustration is not ours; it comes straight from a contemporary writer. In fact, the analogy is so obvious that it has occurred to J. A. F. himself, who clearly has not read the contemporary writer, and whom we cannot conceive as honouring us by remembering what we wrote in 1861. He too talks about Edward "having a Shunammite to console him in his dotage." But if J. A. F. wishes to take the trouble to ascertain what kind of character Edward the Third bore in such matters, we will refer him to the alleged prophecies of John of Bridlington and the commentary on them which will be found in the first volume of *Political Poems and Songs* published in the series of *Chronicles and Memorials*. It is not very likely that Lord Macaulay had read them; it is quite clear that J. A. F. has not. They contain a good deal about more than one favourite of Edward, one of them as early as the siege of Calais, whom the contemporary writer is fond of likening to Bathsheba, and whom Lord Macaulay might with perfect accuracy have likened to Madame de Pompadour. The reading is, according to modern tastes, somewhat unsavoury; but it is not more unsavoury than much of the reading about Henry the Eighth's divorces, marriages, and beheadings. But there is quite enough to justify Lord Macaulay's words, even if the cleanest bill could be made out on behalf of Alice Perrers. Edward the Third had his Madame de Pompadour long before the time of Alice, and a contemporary writer shows plainly that she brought on herself the public hatred.

Such a way of answering J. A. F. would indeed be a mere cavil; but his own cavil really deserves nothing better in answer. Of course the real question is about Alice Perrers. Those who have taken the trouble to ascertain what is the evidence about the matter know that the men of the time did not hit on the charitable surmise which has occurred both to ourselves and to J. A. F. They put her in the same class as Bathsheba and Madame de Pompadour. J. A. F. is utterly wrong when he says that a St. Alban's monk is the only authority for her having been Edward's mistress. This is the way in which some people read their books. J. A. F. has been reading the St. Alban's books, Thomas Walsingham—if there be any Thomas Walsingham; we forget what was Mr. Riley's last decision—and the Lives of the Abbots. But he only read the text and did not look in the margin. Had he looked in the margin, he would have seen that the narrative in Walsingham is founded on that in the *Continuation of Adam of Murimuth*, whose author was not a monk of St. Alban's. The St. Alban's writer doubtless puts in much stronger and coarser phrases than he found in his original; but the words of that original are quite enough. She is there "*quadam Alicia Perers, quas nimia familiaris erat domino regi Edwardo*." Stronger phrases still will be found in the documents quoted by Mr. Longman, and in the very distinct reference in the character of Edward as elaborately drawn by the *Continuation*:—"Luxus et motus suæ carnis etiam in senili ætate non cohibuit; unde citius, ut creditur, propter illius immoderantiam finierat vitam."

But to those who take the trouble to ascertain the evidence for the statements which they make, the most grotesque thing of all will be J. A. F.'s wonderful notion that Alice was persecuted by the Lords, but was a favourite with the Commons. We are almost ashamed to repeat so familiar a story, one which may be found in any decent History of England, to say nothing of the special biographer of Edward the Third or of our two great Constitutional historians in our own generation and in an earlier one. Surely every one except J. A. F. knows the difference between the Good Parliament and the Parliament which came after it. For "Lords" in J. A. F.'s story we must read "the Commons of the Good Parliament"; for "Commons" we must read "John of Gaunt's Parliament, which undid its acts." The Commons in the Good Parliament presented the great petition against Alice, grounded not on any one particular story, but on her general interference with the Courts of Justice. The Parliament of the next year restored her. One would have thought that the most careless and muddle-headed of writers could not have confused a story at once so plain and so familiar; but this singular exploit has been achieved by a writer who thinks himself qualified to sit in judgment on Lord Macaulay.

One word more; we had meant to confine ourselves to these two cases, but the gross unfairness of one other attack cannot be passed by. J. A. F. says, "Macaulay talks of a statue of himself which Alexander proposed to hew out of Mount Athos." The mistake is obvious. J. A. F. stops to explain it at length. But would not any one have thought, from J. A. F.'s way of introducing the story, that the mistake was made in some of Lord Macaulay's corrected and published writings, in his History or in his Essays? If we turn to Mr. Trevelyan's biography, we find that this at least among "those brilliant allusions which so excited the envy and the admiration of Thackeray" was made in a private letter, written early in life, which Thackeray could never have seen.

Of the real mistakes of Lord Macaulay it would be easy to make a long list. Those who take the trouble to ascertain the evidence for things need no J. A. F. to point them out. The faults of Lord Macaulay's writings are undoubted, but, in the teeth of them, he remains one of the great masters of English history and of the English language. The fame of the illustrious dead will hardly be disturbed by the petty carplings of the presumptuous and ignorant

blunderer who has taken upon himself to sit in judgment on one at whose feet he ought to have been well pleased to sit as a humble learner.

#### MILITARY HYGIENE.

**S**OLDIERS of all nations will lament the death of the soldier's friend, Dr. Parkes. This was the testimony of an Austrian medical writer to the merit of him who may be called the founder of Military Hygiene. Dr. Parkes was selected by the late Lord Herbert for the Professorship of Hygiene at the Army Medical School in 1860; and for this post, which Dr. Parkes filled up to the time of his recent death, he was unquestionably the man best fitted in the kingdom. He had to create the science he had to teach, or at least to reduce it from a chaotic condition to something like order. The first edition of his *Manual of Practical Hygiene* was published in 1864. The value of this work has been felt throughout the civilized world. It reached its fourth edition in 1873, and has been translated into many European languages. This last edition was considerably altered and enlarged, so as to fit it for civil as well as military life; and in addition to this useful labour the author began in 1862 an annual Review of the Progress of Hygiene, which has regularly appeared in the Report of the Army Medical Department, and has formed one of its most important features. The practical character of his inquiries may be inferred from the comparison which he made of the effects of coffee, extract of meat, and alcohol on men marching, and from his report on the evidence collected during the Ashantee campaign as to the value of a spirit ration for troops, as well as from his share in inventing and perfecting the new valise equipment.

The economical importance of military hygiene increases in proportion to the difficulty of obtaining soldiers. The most recent, and probably the most complete, example of the application of medical science to the care of troops in war is furnished by the Ashantee campaign, which may be taken as a test of the value of Dr. Parkes's teaching during the twelve preceding years. Every point connected with the equipment of the expedition was studied with special attention to the circumstances of an exceptional campaign. No expedition so carefully prepared had ever left the shores of this or any other country. The necessity of providing clothing for very hot days and cold nights had been kept in view, and a greyish brown woollen stuff, manufactured for the occasion, was found to be cool and at the same time warm, and, while light, yet strong enough not to be easily torn. The tunic was neither too tight nor too loose, and constriction at the neck was avoided. A well-designed sun helmet with pugree, and under-shirts of flannel, were issued. The men were equipped with their ordinary greatcoats, grey field blankets, and waterproof ground sheets. They carried wooden water bottles of a new pattern and portable charcoal filters. A special ration of food had been devised, in the composition of which the variety so essential to health was united with a full measure of nourishment. The liberal allowance of all the component articles met the case, so constantly happening in war, of loss from waste or deterioration before the cooked food reached the soldier. The quality of everything issued was unexceptionable, except that the fresh meat was poor, the country furnishing neither cattle nor grass to feed those which were imported. The ration included bread, meat, vegetables, tea, sugar, salt, and sometimes cocoa; and sausage and cheese might be occasionally substituted for meat. It will be seen that rum, hitherto always an article of field ration, had been omitted. The intention was to give it as an exceptional issue only, for special reasons, on the recommendation of the medical officer. A large and roomy line-of-battle ship had been selected to serve as a floating hospital. It had been adapted for use in accordance with the best views as to what was necessary for the well being of sick men in a tropical atmosphere, and nothing which seemed likely to promote their recovery was objected to as too costly. This ship was intended for the reception of acute cases of a certain gravity, and for them only until the patients were able to be transferred to other ships and sent away from the coast. It had been thought that some cases of illness, especially of dysentery, would do badly if the patients were taken rapidly from the tropics to England in the dead of winter. Accordingly application was made for leave to establish a hospital at Madeira or Teneriffe; but, this being refused, Gibraltar was eventually selected. In view of the possibility of the occurrence of yellow fever, an additional ship, to be used in case of need for the segregation of persons suffering from that disease, was provided.

A detachment of Royal Marines had been landed at Cape Coast Castle in June 1873, and marched to Elmina, where they suffered so severely that in less than two months the detachment was re-embarked. The medical historian of the war knows of no parallel to this sickness except in the Walcheren expedition, and, he says, "the parallel is sustained in the after consequences—the shattered health of the survivors of both expeditions." The mortality in both cases was over 17 per cent. of the strength disembarked; and these results may be contrasted with those ensuing when it is possible to select the proper season for operating in an unhealthy country, and when suitable measures are taken beforehand to obviate sickness and to reduce mortality. In the army which marched to Coomassie, although the force remained longer in the country than did the detachment of Marines, the mortality at the date of four months after the country had been left was

only 3·14 per cent. of the strength disembarked. One cannot help seeing in this campaign the result of Dr. Parkes's teaching, and satisfaction is only qualified by doubt whether the same perfection of arrangements could be maintained in the movements of a larger army. The Marines were hurriedly sent out to meet a sudden emergency, such as often occurs in war, and they suffered heavily. If we had to move an army as rapidly as we moved this detachment, our medical and supply services would be subjected to a more severe strain. Nevertheless, the careful observations of years of peace will furnish useful principles for time of war, and in this point of view the Reports of the Army Medical Department deserve admiration. The last of the published Reports of Dr. Parkes on Hygiene covers the year 1874 and part of 1875, and he professes to have noticed in it "only those points which appeared likely to be most useful to army medical officers." The extent to which the science of hygiene has been developed may be inferred from the number and variety of these selected "points."

The character and career of Dr. Parkes formed the subject of a brief address delivered by Sir William Jenner at the College of Physicians on Monday last. The deceased Professor of Hygiene had been appointed to deliver the Harveyian oration for this year, and he left the manuscript of his address unfinished. The merit of this composition appeared to be so great that the President, rightly interpreting the wish of the profession, requested Sir William Jenner, as an intimate friend of the deceased, to read it in his stead, and he naturally added some particulars of the life of the lamented author. The ability and attainments of Dr. Parkes would be sufficiently evidenced by this oration, if he had not left behind him many published writings of high merit, and the traditions, even more valuable, of his oral teaching. Harvey's great discovery was attained by experiment and observation, and it is only necessary to examine the Reports of the Army Medical Department to see that Dr. Parkes not only praised, but imitated, Harvey's thoroughness of investigation. The time has perhaps gone by for great discoveries, and medical science now requires from its votaries that patient elaboration of details which we find in Reports on Hygiene. Yet the innovations which the last twenty years have wrought in army medicine must have seemed to old-fashioned practitioners hardly less audacious than Harvey's announcement that all the prevailing notions of physicians were mistaken. "Tantum consuetudo aut semel imbibita doctrina apud omnes valet," that Harvey feared that his treatise on the "Circulation of the Blood" might provoke hostility, and in fact his practice fell off after he published it. The first generals of all ages have no doubt been fully alive to the importance of military hygiene, but they have wanted means to give effect to their convictions. It is lamentable to remember the waste of valuable lives which has been caused by parsimony, neglect, or downright stupidity. For many years soldiers were dressed with as little regard to health or activity as if they had been fashionable ladies. Dr. Parkes's views on knapsacks would have been received by the pipeclay school of officers much as Harvey's doctrine was by elderly physicians of his time. Lord Albemarle has told us that after Waterloo soldiers came to be regarded as an encumbrance, which the country might be well rid of by shipping them in crazy transports. Sometimes a whole regiment has been swept away by cholera in India, and the army which landed in the Crimea lost heavily by this disease even during the battle of the Alma and the march to Balaklava. Dr. Parkes was sent out to select the site of a large hospital on the Dardanelles, and he showed what might be done in sanitary administration by an able officer untrammelled by routine. But, unfortunately for our army, routine usually asserts its sway as soon as the crisis which gave scope for genius is overpast. On the much-debated question as to the fitness of our existing army for immediate service in Europe, it may suffice to express the hope that the opinions of experienced medical officers will receive due consideration at the War Office. They are not likely to be far mistaken as to the age or strength of recruits.

As a military surgeon in India, Dr. Parkes had seen much of cholera. He continued to study this disease afterwards, and a large part of his last Report refers to it. We also find there an abstract of observations made by a foreign physician on the temperature of the bodies of himself and his guides in ascending Swiss mountains in 1874. This example may serve to show Dr. Parkes's diligence in collecting every sort of fact that could be useful to medical officers of the army. His observations on the value of alcohol ought to be made generally accessible, as the remarks of a sensible man on a subject which has been overlaid with nonsense. He was one of the many instances of scantily rewarded merit, and, like other leaders of his profession, he had that natural bent of mind which would have made him a physician irrespectively of honour or emolument. Yet, although he may, as we are told, have been "the last man to set store by these things," the country ought not to speculate on the chance of always finding such men to serve it without taking the trouble to attract them. He worked for his work's sake; and perhaps, when the poet said that the god Phœbus instructed the Asclepiads in the healing art, he meant that both remedies and the skill and will to use them were equally the gifts of pitying Heaven—

φάρμακα πολυπόνοις ἀντιπεμπὸν Βροτοῖσιν.

In this, however, as in other things, Heaven helps those who help themselves, and public money could never be spent more usefully than in properly remunerating the founders of military hygiene.



Its professors have gone near to revive the practice of Asclepius; for, if they have not restored the dead to life, their conduct of the Ashantee war can only be described as a fraud on the rights of Pluto, and an attempt to depopulate his realm.

#### MR. STEWART'S COUSINS.

WE have often heard of "our American cousins," but it is only now that we fully perceive the advantage of family ties. All persons of the name or kin of the late Mr. A. T. Stewart of New York, either within the United Kingdom or elsewhere, may hope to get a share of his estate by asking for it, and may be certain that they will get nothing if they do not ask. It is stated that two thousand letters of application have already been received, and nothing short of the distribution of the whole estate seems likely to stop the flow of correspondence. A lady addressing Mrs. Stewart from Ireland makes the overwhelming statement that "your husband, Madam, was first cousin of the father" of the person whose claim she advocates; and, after describing the circumstances of this person and his wife, who are school teachers, she concludes, "Madam, for the sake of your husband's memory, assist and forward these cousins of his." This lady writes again, after a fortnight's silence, having omitted the precaution, which we should think particularly unnecessary, of registering her first letter; and she adds that the applicant, "in conduct, education, and principles," will not be found wanting, and his three sons, all under eighteen years of age, are nice and good lads. The next claimant is one named in a paragraph of a journal published at Louisville. She is the widow of a surgeon of the United States army, and had the same grandfather as Mr. Stewart. But he "seems to have been ignorant of her existence," and possibly she was ignorant of his. We should be under the mark in saying that the late Mr. Stewart turns out to have had more cousins than the Queen of England, to whom a large part of the peerage is supposed to stand in this relationship. Stewarts form only a small detachment of claimants. A lady, whose name even before her marriage was not Stewart, writes from England that she has a husband and thirteen children, and had lived in hope to see the deceased once more; but her hope in this world is gone, and she looks forward to the next. These pious and appropriate sentiments are not, as we understand, to be taken as implying that the writer does not hope to meet in this world with a share of Mr. Stewart's estate. This lady's statement that she had felt "intense grief" at the death of a cousin whom she had never seen since childhood must also be accepted rather less than literally.

It is appalling to contemplate the possible range of cousinhood to a Stewart. To begin at the beginning, her present Majesty is, as the learned reckon, the 119th Sovereign of Scotland, a monarchy which may justly be called the oldest in the known world, seeing that fourteen of its Kings are believed to have reigned successively before the birth of Christ. We will not, however, dwell on times which cavillers may call prehistoric, or even fabulous, but will come down at once to those unquestionable personages Banquo and his son Fleance, of whom the former was murdered by the usurper Macbeth, and the latter saved his life by flight. He married the daughter of Griffith ap Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales, and had a son, who returned to Scotland, and there did good service to the King Malcolm III., and was by him created Lord Stewart of all Scotland, from which office his family afterwards took their surname. His descendants growing eminent, King Robert Bruce gave his daughter in marriage to one of them, and on her son Robert the crown descended after the death, without issue, of King David. We are told that this Robert was the hundredth King of Scotland and the first of the name of Stewart. Thus all bearers of all varieties of this name may, if they please, allege that they are cousins to the Queen of England. The most direct line of descendants of Fleance are, we believe, the Earls of Galloway; but there are half a dozen or more other lines of Stewarts among the landed gentry of Scotland, and for three or four centuries younger sons of these houses have emigrated to Ireland and founded families which have generally been prolific. The great deceased dry-goods man of New York is one of these Irish Stewarts, and another is the Marquess of Londonderry, whose family name has passed to the coal raised on his estate. When *Macbeth* is performed under Republican institutions, it would, we think, be proper to introduce a portrait of Mr. A. T. Stewart among the visionary progeny of Banquo. He was not a king, but he was something bigger than a millionaire, something for which a word has yet to be invented. It appears from a pedigree published in the *New York Herald* that Captain William Stewart of Garlies, Scotland, settled at Ballydrene, near Belfast, in 1608, and it is suggested that the illustrious draper was an offshoot of this stock. If this were so, the gorgeous funeral of which we lately heard might have displayed the double treasure counter-flory of the Kings of Scotland as part of the coat of arms proper to the deceased. This double treasure with its *fleur-de-lys* was given, say the *Heralds*, by the Emperor Charlemagne in token of amity to King Achaicus of Scotland, in the year 792; so that it has been borne, at least mythically, by the Stewarts or their forbears for more than a thousand years. An English Stewart has already offered condolence to the widow "on mourning notepaper with the crest of the writer, a pelican feeding its

young, and the motto 'Virescit vulnere virtus'; and the *New York Herald* evidently thinks the compliment would be agreeable. Also the writer has subjoined to his letter a schedule of the names and ages of his children, which he thinks may be interesting to the widow, whom, towards the end of his letter, he calls aunt. The next letter of the series begins by calling the same lady "Aunt," and the writer, who is herself a widow, has of course her budget of troubles to produce. Her first husband, who was a lieutenant-colonel, went back to his regiment after marriage, and was killed within three months. Her second husband, who was a dry-goods clerk and a Stewart, came from Ireland, and she married him on his death-bed in the morning, and he died at night. Afterwards this lady lost money by the failure of a bank, and she was injured by stepping upon something which caused a board to fly up and hit her, as she elegantly expresses it, "in the bowels," and she fainted away, and has been sick ever since. She was attended by two doctors, one of whom died of fever, and the other was thrown out of his carriage and lies in a dying state; so that it seems she exercises a fatal influence on the other sex. Before she met with this accident she supported her father and mother, but now the city of Watertown and the Episcopate thereof support her and them. "Uncle Stewart" once gave her five hundred dollars, and she expected that he would will her something. But, as he did not, Mrs. Stewart and Judge Hilton will no doubt supply deficiencies, and—N.B.—only two banks are safe to make remittances.

It had been reported that Judge Hilton had said that Mr. A. T. Stewart had no living blood relatives; but if he made such a mistake, it has been abundantly corrected, as two thousand kinsmen have already declared themselves, and other thousands loom not obscurely in the future. A cousin writes from Vermont that he is too late to see the deceased personally, but would be glad to hear from the widow. A lady who suggests that perhaps she may be a cousin thinks it as well to state plainly that she is in very poor circumstances, and, if the relationship be established, she will expect assistance. A second cousin, writing from Indiana, pictures to Mrs. Stewart her meeting with her husband "in a better world," and his asking how she had administered his estate, and her answering that she had done about right with it, and among many acts of benevolence and gifts to the meritorious poor, she will remember giving to a poor disabled relative of her husband who lived in Indiana "the small sum of \$—," and he expressed much gratitude. The figure is left to be filled up at Mrs. Stewart's discretion. These letters have been published in the *New York Herald*, being a selection from a much larger mass with which Judge Hilton and Mrs. Stewart, as executors of the deceased, have been overwhelmed. Among other influences, that of spirit-rapping has of course been brought to bear; but the deceased, as thus interpreted, confines himself to wishing that little books on the care of health may be distributed among the boys and girls of some charitable institution, and he mentions the name of the author of these valuable hygienic treatises. He now perceives that he might have done more on earth to comfort the poor, and thereby obtain their blessings, which would have been "capital in spiritual life." If the repose of the soul of the deceased can be promoted by the distribution of little books on health to boys and girls who will not read them, it may be hoped that the executors will make the necessary outlay. It can hardly be doubted that all these letters are genuine compositions of persons who take each the method which seems best to him or her of attracting the golden shower. One lady sends her photograph to Judge Hilton, in order that he may recognize a family resemblance, and obtains the "endorsement" of a firm of dry-goods merchants of Keokuk, where she dwells. A lady of Blue Mountain, Missouri, states that her mother was an Irish Stewart, and had eight children, and if Mrs. Stewart does not feel disposed to give money, anything will be acceptable. A lady of Iowa mentions that she is ready to pay Mr. Hilton's professional charges for making a claim on himself, and she does not think he would do it without payment; but then, as she pertinently remarks, he will have power to help himself. The lady whose "bowels" had been interfered with by a desultory plank seems to think that there may be something wrong, figuratively speaking, in the bowels of her revered aunt, and, in order to stimulate the action of family affection, she states in a further letter that she was in her uncle's employment eleven years, and worked in the underclothing shop where "ladies' and girls' clothing" is made up, and, besides, "she clerked it in the stores for uncle." As she is poor, she would wish Aunt Stewart to do what she can right off.

It is certainly surprising that Mr. Stewart did not discover this numerous class during his lifetime, particularly as he is said to have had a Scotchman's fondness for his family and name. Even the cousin who claims to have slept in the same bed with him seems to have been forgotten. But perhaps he remembered that the pelican of fable only feeds her own children, and is not in the habit of being "Aunt" to all the callow orphans who would like to drink her blood. The ancestral crest of Stewart, "a pelican feeding her young in a nest," might easily be adapted to the case of the widow of the dry-goods merchant among his clamorous heirs. The pelican would of course be Mrs. Stewart, and Mr. Hilton, being a lawyer, would be properly represented by an owl; while as many little pelicans as a very capacious nest would hold would be sitting with their beaks wide open, and looks of love concentrated on "Aunt," and other little pelicans would be climbing into the nest, and endeavouring to eject the fortunate occupants of places at the feast. On the whole, we think that the

pelican of Stewart is even a more distinguished bird than the spread-eagle of America. A meeting of the claimants on the estate would form an interesting international competition, and might be held at the Centennial Exhibition. Although Stewarts reveal themselves in America as sudden and numerous as the clan Alpine on the hill-side, yet Scotland and Ireland are not likely to prove deficient in capacity for swallowing any good things that may be got out of this estate. *Virescit vulnere virtus*, and numerous offshoots have not drained the life of the parent tree. We take it on ourselves to state that all the Scotch and Irish Stewarts were very fond of their American cousin, and only wish that they could have seen more of him. But still they sometimes feel that they scarcely appreciated his noble qualities as they deserved:—

Oh! while our cousin with us lived,  
Would we had loved him more!

#### CORONERS' INQUESTS.

THE chief interest attaching to what is called the Balham mystery is that it brings out in a very clear and unmistakable manner the extremely unsatisfactory condition of an important preliminary branch of judicial inquiry, and will presumably lead to some general legislation on the subject. From of old "crown's quests" have had an unflattering reputation, and it is notorious that in our own day there is really no security for the competency of the persons who fill the office of coroner, and that they are practically left to discharge their duties in their own way without supervision or personal responsibility. The consequence is that a coroner's inquest is in most cases a mere empty form, and that, when any difficult or serious case arises, the system is pretty certain to break down. The Coroner in the present instance pleads that he has never before had any complaint against him; but it is of course only owing to the accident of the deceased, who was a barrister, having legal friends who have stirred up the matter, that the case at Balham has attracted general attention; and there is no reason to suppose that the Coroner was more particular in other cases. The rule which has just been made absolute by the Court of Queen's Bench was asked for on the grounds that there had been a miscarriage of justice, that there was some misconduct or mistake on the part of the Coroner, that material evidence was rejected, that material witnesses were not examined, that the inquiry was closed prematurely, that the inquisition was incorrect and bad in law, the inquiry incomplete, and the verdict of the jury imperfect and inconclusive; and the fact that the rule has been granted is a proof that these charges are considered to have been made good. Whatever may be the judgment resulting from the new inquiry which is to take place, it must be assumed that the Coroner is responsible for the grave irregularities which have already occurred, and, as he has held office for some forty years, his conduct can hardly be excused on the ground of inexperience. It is more reasonable to suppose that in this case he merely did his work in the ordinary slovenly and incompetent way in which such work is too frequently done by members of this body, and it is to be hoped that the Home Secretary will not omit to deal with the matter as far as his power extends. There cannot be a stronger encouragement to crime than the shelter which is afforded by the inefficiency and bungling of coroners. It will be remembered that in the recent case of conspiracy to poison, the medical student who supplied professional advice as to the most effectual means of secret murder assumed as part of his case that there would be no difficulty, with a little management, in getting a convenient verdict from such a body as a coroner's jury. We have no desire to speculate as to what may have been the cause of Mr. Bravo's death; but there can be no doubt at least that the inquest afforded a very imperfect, if not inaccurate, view of the circumstances of the case, and it is probable that, if it had not been for the interposition of Mr. Bravo's friends, it would have been quietly hushed up without being mentioned in any of the newspapers. It is obvious that in such cases arrangements ought to be made for securing the thorough publicity of the proceedings, and also for collecting all the evidence which may be available. In this instance the Coroner seems to have made up his own mind at once as to the conclusion to be drawn, and to have thought that this was enough. Even Mr. Serjeant Parry, who appeared for the Coroner, was obliged to admit that it was almost self-evident that, if there had been an adjournment, inquiry might have been made as to where the poison came from; but this, he said, was not in the mind of his client. But how can a man be fit for such a post to whose mind so self-evident a precaution does not instinctively and mechanically present itself? Moreover, by some unaccountable neglect, no *post-mortem* examination of the body was ordered, and an important element in the elucidation of the mystery will, therefore, by this time, we suppose, be practically beyond the reach of investigation.

It is difficult to understand how the present system of coroners' inquests should have been tolerated so long without any provision as to the competency of coroners, or any authoritative supervision of their conduct. It appears that no precedent can be found for the course which the Court of Queen's Bench has now taken; but it is clear that, as the Chief Justice said, a second inquiry was necessary to further the ends of justice, owing "to a want of certain evidence which ought

to have been received, and to the verdict being incomplete and inconclusive." And it was on this ground that the Court took upon itself the responsibility of dealing with the matter. The inquisition has accordingly been quashed, and an order sent to the Coroner to hold a fresh inquiry before a fresh jury. It may be that the result of this new investigation will be to justify the Coroner's impression as to the nature of the occurrence; but, should it be so, it will not alter the fact that the first inquiry was not conducted in accordance with necessary forms and precautions; and the really important question, therefore, is, whether coroners ought not to be subjected to some kind of regular and systematic supervision. It is, no doubt, satisfactory to know that, in the event of the Court of Queen's Bench being satisfied that there has been a miscarriage of justice in any inquest, it will give directions for another inquiry; but this applies only to such cases as are brought before the Court, which are not likely to be very common. What would seem to be wanted is that the coroners and their courts should be brought under some kind of general control, so as to afford some security that coroners shall be fit for their duties, and to provide a check upon the carelessness and blundering of which they are often guilty. In Scotland there are no coroners or public inquests at all. In the case of a doubtful death the Procurator Fiscal—that is, the Public Prosecutor—holds a private inquiry, and satisfies himself whether there is any reason for criminal proceedings, which he thereupon takes or lets alone at his own discretion; and it has, we believe, been proposed to adopt this plan in England. The public inquiry, however, which forms an essential part of the English system, is a valuable element which cannot be given up, as it tends to promote the collection of information, and is also a satisfaction to public opinion by preventing any suspicions that a case has not been gone into thoroughly and fairly; that is to say, it does this when it is properly administered. On the other hand, it is a great advantage in the Scotch system that the Procurator Fiscal is a duly qualified officer, acting under the eye of the legal authorities; and this is what the coroners in England ought to be. As it is, the coroners are notoriously a very mixed body. Some of them are no doubt able and competent men; but the manner in which a coroner is usually elected furnishes no security that this will be the case. No professional training is required for the post, and any one who attends these inquiries, knowing anything of legal procedure, will be surprised at the free-and-easy looseness with which the proceedings are often conducted, and the audacity, perhaps unconscious, with which the presiding judge overturns the established rules of evidence or invents new ones to suit his purpose. Many of the coroners are medical men who are utterly ignorant of law and judicial proceedings, and who habitually take part in the cases which come before them as if they were experts giving evidence, and this evidence is apt to be of a very crotchety and misleading kind. It is desirable that the jury should have the benefit of authoritative professional opinion in such cases; but this should come from independent witnesses who are on oath and can be cross-examined, and not from the judge interposing as a witness. In some cases a coroner, having sunk a large sum in his election expenses, probably thinks himself entitled to recoup himself by holding inquests on the most frivolous pretexts. In other cases the work is slurred over in a careless and slovenly manner. In the first inquest on the loss of the *Mistletoe* the Coroner was afraid to take the responsibility of summing up the evidence; and when, at the subsequent sitting, Baron Bramwell began to perform this task, he was coolly informed in court by a juror that he and several of his companions had already made up their minds not to return a verdict of manslaughter, and that nothing he could say would alter their resolution—a gross impertinence which the Judge naturally rebuked. In the other inquest on the same subject the jury agreed upon a verdict the second part of which flatly contradicted the first. Many instances might be quoted of the absurd verdicts given by juries, and accepted, and in some cases dictated, by coroners. Not long ago, when a man was found dead with a prussic-acid bottle beside him, the Coroner held that there was no evidence of poisoning; while in another case an equally sapient authority prompted a verdict to the effect that a man had been poisoned with a well-known drug, of which a very small quantity is instantaneously fatal, yet of which this man was reported to have taken a large dose, and to have survived for many hours afterwards. Coroners, in fact, are entrusted with important judicial functions, but in many cases without any professional training to fit them for their duties. The sort of questions which come before them are no doubt of a very simple character, just as happens in the County Courts; but occasionally questions of a grave and delicate kind may turn up at inquests, requiring, on the part of the presiding official, quite as much acumen and knowledge of legal forms as is expected from a County Court judge. Yet the latter are appointed by the Government, and must be professionally qualified for their office.

The case, then, is simply this. Coroners' inquests are an important, and it may be said a vital, part of criminal justice. It is of the greatest consequence to the interests of society that these inquiries should be conducted in a thorough and searching manner, not only in order that crime may be detected, but that the designs of possible criminals may be discouraged by the prospect of the keen inquiry which awaits their deeds. It surely follows, therefore, that the State is bound to see that the administration is made as efficient as possible, and that a proper watch is kept over the officials to whom this duty is entrusted. A useful step in this direction would be taken if the system of appointing coroners by



popular election were given up—those elections usually turning on a large expenditure in placards and canvassing—and also if some plan were devised for bringing inquests into connexion with the general police system. In any case there ought to be some check on the appointment of incompetent persons, and some means of getting rid of those who in office show incapacity for their work. It is also desirable that this class of officials should be paid by fixed salaries, and thus released from the temptations to which, in some cases, they are at present exposed.

#### THE CHRISTIAN APOLOGIST.

"OF making many books," saith the Preacher, "there is no end." Yet Solomon lived some thousands of years before the invention of printing, and still more therefore of periodicals. What would he think were he to revisit the earth in our day and examine, we do not say the library of the British Museum, but a catalogue of Mudie's, or a list of the current newspapers and magazines? Would not the study of our serial literature alone appear to him a veritable "weariness of the flesh"? The multiplication of book-making of this kind within living memory has indeed been so rapid that the art of journalism, at it is now called, may be described as a creation of our own day. If the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh* still retain a kind of honorary primacy, they are jostled by a crowd of younger competitors for the patronage of the reading public. There are nondescript magazines to cater for the general reader; there are professional organs of every class; there are special organs of every party, political or religious, we might almost say philosophical. Tories, Whigs, Radicals, High Church and Low Church, and No Church, Catholics and Protestants, Churchmen and Dissenters, each and all have their periodical mouthpiece. It was only last January that a new Review of Philosophy and Psychology appeared, under the imposing title of *Mind*, and perhaps we may be asked to welcome ere long a rival candidate for admission into the happy family, which shall plead the cause of pure materialism under the name of *Matter*. Meanwhile the first number of a new *Quarterly Magazine*, which proposes to discuss "Science, Philosophy, Literature, and other matters FROM A CHRISTIAN POINT OF VIEW," has just been put into our hands, bearing the date of July 1876, and the title of *The Christian Apologist*. The Editor desires in his preliminary notice to have it thoroughly understood that this magazine is not to be the organ of any one school of Christian thought, but is open to all contributors who do not impugn the Divinity of Christ, editor and contributors alike being responsible for their own articles only. A prominent place will be assigned to the discussion of scientific questions, which he believes to be of great importance to Christianity, and he closes his announcement with the words, "That our object is good we know, that we shall succeed we entertain great hopes." The goodness of the object we are not disposed to question; but if to succeed means, as the programme appears to imply, to effect a definitive reconciliation of science and revealed religion, it may pardonably be thought somewhat enthusiastic to anticipate the achievement of such a result within any appreciable period through the instrumentality of a *Quarterly Magazine* of less than fifty pages. Nor are we sure that the contents of the first number, in which there is much to commend and little to find fault with, would go far to substantiate so sanguine an expectation. Of the seven articles the last is signed by the Editor; two are by Anglican clergymen, one of whom is well known in his special department of Biblical criticism; two are by Roman Catholic writers, who are also known in their respective lines; and the remaining two are not signed. The longest does not exceed eight pages.

The first paper (unsigned) is devoted to proving that science leads up to religion, or, as the author rather oddly puts it, he is "advocating the marriage of Science and Religion," though he is "well aware how many will forbid the banns." But he winds up with what, so far as we understand him, reads like an assertion of the eternity of matter, which is generally, we believe, rejected by the orthodox as an heretical opinion, and formed one of the charges alleged in the early Church against the Manicheans. The second paper is from the pen of Mr. De Lisle, who has been known for more than thirty years past—when he figured under a thin disguise in the pages of *Coningsby*—to interest himself in "the future unity of Christendom," which forms the subject of his present contribution. It is apparently intended to be the first of a series, which helps to explain its being too brief and sketchy to offer much ground for criticism. It is marked by the wide sympathies, the devout and generous tone, and the keen interest in the fortunes of the Church of England, which are characteristic of the author's writings. He closes with a vigorous denunciation of the Public Worship Act, which is described as a "miserable attempt to stamp out a vast movement by persecution," and as sure "not only to prove a signal failure, but by its absurdity and malignity to strengthen what it is powerless to crush." Mr. Earle, like Mr. De Lisle, is a Roman Catholic; but he does not deal with any question of ecclesiastical controversy, and we cannot follow him here into a half philosophical, half theological disquisition on the nature of "the resurrection body." The two clerical contributors discuss different aspects of the evidences of Christianity. Mr. Stanley Leathes has adopted the rather startling title of "the Gospel according to St. Paul," but there is nothing strained or paradoxical, if there is nothing very new, in

his calm and closely-reasoned argument for the Resurrection of Christ from the "four unquestionable Epistles of St. Paul"—the genuineness of which, he might have added, was fully allowed by Strauss and the Tübingen school—Romans, Galatians, and the two to the Corinthians. The general drift of his argument is summed up in the concluding passage:—

We may be quite sure that there is not a jury to be found who would not be convinced of the reality of any remarkable fact if it was testified to by such evidence as this, and the circumstance that in this case the fact is a supernatural one does not alter the decision if it be allowed that any testimony whatever can be sufficient to establish the miraculous, and if it be borne in mind that all the surroundings of this fact, and all the consequences resulting from it, are on any true estimate of them little less miraculous than the fact itself. When we take into account the circumstances of St. Paul's conversion, the circumstances of the life and death of Jesus Christ, and the circumstances that followed after the belief in His resurrection throughout the civilized world, it is simply impossible not to admit that be the genuineness and authenticity of the four Gospels many degrees less satisfactory than they are, there is nevertheless very strong evidence, which is little short of demonstration, to the fact that Jesus Christ rose from the dead.

The other clerical essayist, Mr. Henslow, argues, against Professor Huxley and a recent writer in *Macmillan's Magazine*, that for many purposes moral evidence is quite as valid as scientific demonstration, and that in fact "scientific men of the highest eminence can boast of no other proof than this in nine-tenths of their inductions." And the moral evidence for theism is abundantly sufficient both from without and from within, according to the familiar saying of Kant—"Two things fill me with awe—the starry heavens, and the sense of moral responsibility in man." One of the most interesting papers, which has no name attached, is devoted to criticizing a recent article on Miracles in the *Church Quarterly Review*, which was favourably noticed at the time in our own columns. The writer, while bestowing a high commendation on the article generally, is of opinion that the negative side of the Reviewer's argument, in depreciating the evidential function of miracles, and in some other particulars which we cannot stay to examine here, is put too strongly.

The last paper in the *Apologist* is perhaps the one to which ordinary readers are likely most readily to turn. It is signed by the Editor, and entitled "The Oxford Movement and Infidelity." Like all the rest, it is short, and contains nothing very novel or profound; but the writer puts his case clearly, and one merit he may claim in common with his fellow-contributors, which is not always to be found in a theological or quasi-theological Review. *The Christian Apologist* does not profess, as we have seen, to be the organ of any one Church or school of thought, and several are, in fact, represented in its pages. It is creditable to the various writers that none of them, so far as we have observed, use language which can give any reasonable cause of offence to the unbelievers against whom they are united in contending, or to members of communions or parties different from their own. We should infer from his paper that the Editor is certainly not a Roman Catholic, and he is engaged in depreciating what he considers a dangerous reliance on the Catholic principle of authority. But he says not a syllable which could be interpreted as disrespectful to the Church of Rome, and speaks throughout in terms of the highest respect of Dr. Newman. His view appears to be that it is safer not to repose our faith in Christ on any external authority, lest it should break under our feet. He justly observes that Dr. Newman, as leader of the Tractarian movement, put forward the idea of the Church as "the teacher of truth" with a distinctness and emphasis so entirely new to the great body of his countrymen as to "change the whole face of the ecclesiastical world." Many of his disciples felt constrained to carry out this principle to what seemed to them its legitimate conclusion by following their leader across the Rubicon; and thus "the influx of Anglicans infused life into the small torpid body of Roman Catholics in England," which had previously contributed nothing to the national life, and had, with two or three illustrious exceptions, no well-known authors. At this moment, as he adds, the Cardinal Archbishop, the heads of the three principal Roman Catholic colleges, and the editors of the leading Roman Catholic organs are all converts. But how, it may be asked, did it fare with those who stayed behind? Dr. Newman's arguments had already been "sown broadcast over the country," and a renewed study of the *Evidences* set in, of which one result was seen in the publication of *Essays and Reviews*. The line of reasoning of the *Tracts for the Times* had been described by himself as "a kill-or-cure remedy," which would logically drive those who rejected the idea of the Church to a denial of Christ. And accordingly some of those who had followed the great leader up to a certain point, and declined to follow him further, were eventually led to doubt revealed religion altogether. Nor did they find that, if they rejected Church authority, the authority of the Bible would serve as a substitute. The same destructive criticism which undermined the first would prove equally fatal, if not more fatal, to "the infallibility of the Protestant Scriptures." As a modern writer, himself a clergyman, puts it, "plenary inspiration has broken like pack-thread before the rising gales of scientific discovery and historical research." The essayist wishes accordingly to urge upon those who are troubled by such difficulties, which he thinks are very widely felt, to look beyond all authority of Church or Scripture, and fall back on a direct faith in the Person of Christ. But he hardly seems to have considered that it would depend very much on individual peculiarities of mind or character how far the class of persons for whom the advice is intended would be

able to avail themselves of it, and that probably it would be least available for those who need it most. Meanwhile it has been perfectly true, up to the time of the Old Catholic movement, that, as a rule—of course there are exceptions, of whom the late Mr. Archer Butler was a conspicuous instance—Roman Catholics born and bred, when they lose faith in Rome, lose faith in religion altogether. Their whole creed has come to them on the same authority, and, if the authority fails them, their creed falls with it. We are not now discussing the reasonableness or unreasonableness of this, but merely stating the fact. And it is this which, from a religious point of view, makes the Vatican decrees, in which, as the reviewer says, "the principle of authority reached its extremest limit," so serious a matter. There are no doubt thousands of educated Roman Catholics, including clergy as well as laity, who find it impossible to accept the new doctrines imposed on them, though for the most part they maintain a silence which does not give consent, and too often covers a gradual decomposition of all religious convictions. It is not wonderful, under the circumstances, that men like Dr. Dollinger should speak of the advancing pressure of unbelief, and "the festering wounds which are causing every communion in Christendom to languish." We have nothing to say against any honest attempt to meet the difficulties of the situation, but it is perhaps rather to be wished than expected that, when so many well-meant efforts have failed, *The Christian Apologist* should prove equal to the emergency.

#### ARCHITECTURE AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

WE are neither surprised nor disheartened at observing that the Queen Anne fever would seem by the diagnosis of the Royal Academy to be still very hotly raging. There is too much pleasant sinning in a pursuit where the instinctive craving of the uninstructed man after picturesque variety can revel in an absolute disregard of artistic principle and historical consistency to give much hope of any immediate repentance. But we have sufficient faith in the latent self-respect of the more scientific architects to disbelieve that they can long continue to offer their incense to so capricious a chimera; and as they train off, it will become increasingly impossible for inferior men to carry on the game. As it is, the contest seems to be lying between the Queen Annists and the still faithful band of Gothiciists; for that which may be allowed to pass muster as the Italian school is chiefly represented in Burlington House by some taverns and places of amusement; notably by a huge, square, featureless block which, under the name of "The Holborn Viaduct Station and Hotel" (1075), weighs down that much-suffering thoroughfare. We are not disposed to be very severe upon Mr. Isaacs for this performance. He had no doubt to work under the inexorable law of cubic contents, and there was nothing in the surroundings to inspire his genius to a flight of something better than structural loftiness. But what right has Mr. Fowler, after securing a site of pre-eminent advantage for a "National Opera House," and whipping up Princes and Prima Donnas, if not Archbishops and Chancellors, to lay first stones and second bricks, to inflict such a nightmare upon the town and the Thames? We feel our inability to describe the grotesque conformation of this unprecedented composition (1086); but perhaps, if our readers can conceive a big packing-case set on end, and a lesser packing-case thrust up to it, and a Chinaman's hut dropped on the lesser case, they may form some slight conception of the outline.

Among the examples of Gothic composition there is no design which has been probably, in consequence of recent events, more curiously scrutinized than Mr. Street's nave of Bristol Cathedral (1054). As a whole, it stands outside of general criticism; for its lines and leading forms are dictated by the choir to which it is added, and the dimensions to which it is restricted, while we have no room to examine the various details. The lately famous North Porch, with its outraged sculpture, is conspicuous, and it has, since the Academy opened, gathered an even more painful interest than that which first attached to it. The figures of the Western Fathers and the group of the Epiphany were the work of Mr. Redfern, a young and very promising sculptor, who had by force of his own innate art longings raised himself from the obscurity of an upland Derbyshire village and a youth spent in manual drudgery to the position of a highly educated artist and the pursuit of figure-sculpture in connexion with architecture. There are plenty of sculptors who neither know nor care about the buildings for which their works may be destined, and there are plenty of carving men who can mechanically deal out figures to their patron architects across the counter at such prices for such sizes. It was Redfern's ambition to throw into his effigy or group of modest stone the same intensity of art which Academic prejudice reserves for the marble limbs of some naked nymph, and the same devotion to detail which deference lavishes on the whiskered bust of the prosperous alderman. He did much in a few years, and would have done more but for the perpetual drag of feeble health and highly-strung susceptibilities. At last the blow of the Bristol outrage fell upon him when he was but little capable of facing the vexation, and a short sharp illness carried him prematurely off. Mr. Carpenter fails to do himself justice in introducing his grandiose conception of a new Cathedral for Manchester through a geometrical western elevation (1054). The whole building is a minster of the early fourteenth-century style

boldly carried out on the fullest scale, with a central octagon recalling Ely, and double aisles, of which the outer range terminates in two western towers. The consequence is that the west end, like that of Rouen Cathedral, is very broad and proportionately stately. But in a geometrical elevation, unexplained by the representation of any other portion of the building, the casual visitor might be apt only to notice the breadth and not to grasp the relief. Sir Gilbert Scott designs his large Church of Milton, near Stourport (1049, 1060) in the later or flowing type of our indigenous middle style, which has been unaccountably neglected in favour of early French, or *ad libitum* Italian Gothic. He seems to have succeeded sufficiently well outside and remarkably well in his interior. Mr. Pearson gives an interior (1001) of a large cross Church at Wentworth, Yorkshire, in which, with a very simple detail and an earlier period of the middle style, he is successful in an effect attributable to simplicity of detail upon a scale rather larger than the common average. Mr. Deshon's proposed Church at East Teignmouth (1024) presents a broad bold nave leading up to an inadequate chancel. Two new Roman Catholic Churches in London deserve notice for some originality of treatment. Mr. Tasker's Church in Barking Road (988) has a certain picturesque intricacy in the arrangement of the pillars and arches; and the late Mr. Edward Pugin's Church on Tower Hill (991) is a spirited attempt to grapple with a cramped site by triforium galleries and top-lighting. Mr. J. O. Scott appears in two very different aspects. His competition drawings for the new Oxford Schools show a careful study of perpendicular details (1050, 1085, 1092), while the Byzantine Church for the Greek community in London (1061) is a literal reproduction of its exotic style, which, while commendable in this special instance, removes the design out of the ken of criticism. Mr. E. M. Barry's quasi-Byzantine Chapel at the Children's Hospital (1008) seems to be a room converted to its present object, and fitted up on a plan recalling Santa Fosca at Torcello. The whole effect is rich, and it is a case which quite justifies an eclectic treatment. The apparent smallness of the space within which the artist had to work is an obvious drawback.

Mr. Waterhouse's regular and palatial Natural History Museum at South Kensington in a sort of neo-Romanesque (1004), and his irregular Eaton Hall, in a sort of neo-Gothic (1068), stand in a rather strange contrast to each other. Of the two, we decidedly prefer the Museum, which atones for its deviations from precedent by a Vanburgh-like dignity of mass; while Eaton may end in being an overgrown villa. The Museum appears in the pomp of the towers and cupolas which Mr. Ayrton cruelly cut off. We strongly urge their restoration.

We have now reached the group of private houses in town and country, of schools, and of institutions, in which, speaking generally, the new craze appears with more or less aggravated intensity. Mr. Norman Shaw, however, in his large country house of Pierpoint, in Surrey (1065), has adhered with much fidelity to the laws of early Tudor in a wide but not too low many-gabled mansion, with frequent breaks and ins and outs, showing a stone ground story, and overhanging half-timbered second floor, with attics in the gables. The design might be liable to the criticism that it rather represented, at least according to our notions, an enlarged farmhouse than a residence for persons accustomed to the higher type of gentle life. We think, however, that, accepting the eclecticism of the age, the architect might make a good defence, except as to the irregular insignificance of the principal doorway. The recess in which it stands is hardly a substitute for a porch, and in that recess it is not central. On the other hand, the bold break in the line of the principal façade is skilfully planned to carry off what might otherwise have been too stiff a primness. The idea is indeed so good that we almost fear to call attention to it in face of the inevitable imitations which it will provoke. Mr. Shaw has very properly appended a plan, in which the weak point appears to be the distance between the kitchen and the dining-room. This arrangement may be inevitable in old houses, but we do not see why it should ever be found in a new one. Pierpoint seems to stand on a level; but at Whisper, near Midhurst (1045), Mr. Shaw had to place the house on a steep hill-side, and he has accordingly thrown it up upon a bold raking sub-structure of stone, sparsely pierced with windows, and spreading at the flank into a bastion-like terrace. From this the half-timbered superstructure rises with oriels and gables, and upon one of the oriels a cleverly contrived balcony. The whole conception appears to be an adaptation, both legitimate and picturesque, of the principles of its style to local circumstances; and, so far as a drawing may be believed, the apparent scale has been well managed. Mr. S. J. Nicholl's addition to Wilmshurst, Sussex (1058), shows a gabled building with a bold recess looking at a distance like an archway, the substructure being rather flamboyant than Tudor, and the gable half-timbered. This is rather too *sauvage* a feature for the treatment of the lower part, and the design would gain from its omission. Mr. Brydon, in his country house of Lewins, Kent (1040), wilfully indicts what is intrinsically a much broken and rather picturesque Tudor house with "Queen Anne" (so called) details capriciously introduced. The flanking mass, with its saddle-back upper story, is rather too high for a wing, and too low for a tower. With some excision and revision this might be accepted as a house of a Tudor type; as it is, it must be classed among nondescripts. We reserve the massive blocks of houses in "Queen Anne" which Mr. Robinson (1025) and Mr. Stevenson (1029) are going to raise on the Hans Place estate till



the buildings are up to speak for themselves. Both architects deserve credit for having recollected that they were producing rows of houses, and not attempting to disguise the personality of those houses under the ill-fitting masquerade of a single palace.

Mr. A. Webb's Almshouses at Worcester (1017, 1028) are a graceful range of buildings, in a real and natural type of Tudor, and rather remind us of some of Pugin's happier efforts. Mr. Tasker, in his Monastery on Highgate Hill (1048), adopts a fortress-like type of rustic Italian with wide overhanging roofs, appropriate enough for the land of the sun and the brigands, but grotesquely unsuited to a country afflicted by fogs and protected by the Metropolitan police. Mr. Spiers's Memorial Tower to be erected in some Park at Barnsley may be an agreeable object to the simple-minded citizens of that busy place, but it ought not to appear in London except upon the drop-scene of a minor theatre. Mr. Graham, in his Lincoln County Hospital (1032), has taken infinite and useless pains to disguise a mass designed on the type of our larger Jacobean mansions with redundant "Queen Anne" detail. Why could not the architect have allowed the accessories to follow the key-note of the structure? Messrs. George and Peto show (1093) their partially completed mansion for Messrs. Goode in South Audley Street, carried out in a "Queen Anne," which is a little Italian, much Dutch, and considerably Jacobean. The general aspect to an uncritical eye is not unpleasant, while a rather more serious recognition of artistic principles would have made it agreeable to a critical judgment.

### AIDA.

SIGNOR VERDI'S opera of *Aida*, of which, as its book informs us, "the action takes place at Memphis and at Thebes during the reign of the Pharaohs"—a date of some vagueness—would be more likely to secure popular interest if it dealt with things and people less remote. The mention of Pharaoh suggests to most minds reminiscences of Biblical stories, and the idea which goes most naturally with the names of ancient Egypt is that of a solemn stillness and vastness, an overwhelming eternal calm like that of the Sphinx, which it is difficult to imagine disturbed by the ordinary passions of love and hatred or by the pomp and panoply of war. Of course there is really no reason why there should not be an opera about the King of Egypt and the High Priest of Isis as well as about Semiramis and Ninus; and probably the audiences who first heard *Aida* when it was produced at Cairo found it easy to sympathize with the varying passions unfolded by the characters of the opera. Audiences at Covent Garden would probably have been more easily moved in this way if *Aida* had been brought out there before Herr Wagner's operas. The influence of the German composer is constantly, and for the most part painfully, evident in the latest opera of the Italian, who certainly need not have resorted to imitation in order to give us a fine opera. It appears neither dignified nor wise in the writer of *Rigoletto* and *Il Trovatore* to seek for good things in the works of Meyerbeer and Herr Wagner, and make use of them as he has done in *Aida*. A master of any art may take an idea here or there and clothe it with such new grandeur that it becomes his own. Most people will admit that Signor Verdi is a master of his art, and all must regret that in this work he has imitated the method of a master of a different school, and imitated it ill. One seems throughout *Aida* to be constantly hearing certain peculiarities and tricks of Herr Wagner, and constantly waiting for the overpowering effects of passion and majesty which he produces. Signor Verdi can write music which is stirring and passionate enough; but his own style of arousing his hearers' feelings is widely different from Herr Wagner's, and in attempting to work in an unfamiliar manner he seems timid and ineffective. His own true and original command of the melody and force of music asserts itself but rarely during the four acts in which, amid an extravagant show and glitter of spectacle, the fortunes of *Aida* are exhibited to his audience.

*Aida* is the daughter of Amonasro, King of Ethiopia, and, taken prisoner by the Egyptians, she has been given as a slave by the King of Egypt to his daughter Amneris, with whom she has found much favour. The first act passes in the palace of the King at Memphis, where Ramphis, the High Priest of Isis, announces that the goddess has just declared who shall lead the armies of Egypt against the invading force of the Ethiopians. Radames, an officer in the Egyptian army, is excited with hope that he may be the chosen warrior, and in a soliloquy reveals that his chiefest hope is to return victorious to *Aida*. To him enter Amneris, the King's daughter, who is in love with him, and *Aida*. Just as Amneris has begun to suspect the love of Radames for the slave, the King and his Court enter, followed by a messenger who announces the approach of the Ethiopians, led by the terrible Amonasro, *Aida*'s father. Upon this the Egyptian King proclaims that the voice of Isis has appointed Radames commander of the host, and proposes that the assembly should proceed to the Temple of Vulcan to see Radames invested with sacred armour. Why Ptah in one scene should be called Vulcan, and in another be addressed by his Egyptian name, is a mystery known only to the writer of the book of *Aida*. However, the crowd of Egyptians are apparently well acquainted with Manetho's works, and go out without any expression of surprise to the temple of Vulcan, leaving *Aida* to

express in a scene by herself the diverse feelings by which she is torn—on the one hand, love for Radames; on the other, devotion to her father and family, against whom her lover is about to lead the strength of the Egyptian army. The singing and acting of Mme. Patti here, as indeed throughout the opera, were admirable. There was a truth and fire of passion in her performance which, from her appearance in lighter parts, could hardly have been expected. The next scene is occupied with the investiture of Radames in the temple, and is more remarkable as a spectacle than as a piece of music.

The second act opens in the apartments of Amneris with a chorus of slaves in praise of love, which has some quaintness and grace. This is followed by a dance of Nubian boys, which was the occasion of a loud expression of divided opinion among the audience, of whom the better advised strenuously opposed a demand for its repetition. The dance is excellent as a pantomimic effect; the music is singularly flimsy. The rest of the scene is occupied with an interview between Amneris and *Aida*, in which there are some fine musical passages; but the interest of the situation depended on the singing and acting of Mme. Patti and Mlle. Gindele, a new singer, who gave a striking representation of the jealous princess who, finding a rival in her favourite slave, looks on her with bitter and remorseless hatred. The scene changes to the entrance-gate of the city. The King, attended by a vast crowd of his court and people, enters and ascends to a throne on the left; a triumphal chorus is sung; and the troops march in, preceded by trumpeters playing on long Egyptian trumpets, which add to the already overpowering din of the brass instruments in the orchestra. Dancing-girls and priests carrying images of the gods swell the crowd upon the stage; and Radames, led in triumph, is received by the King, who, with the impulsive and reckless generosity that belongs to Kings in stories, promises to grant him any favour he asks. The prisoners are introduced, and among them is Amonasro, whom *Aida* greets as her father. For some unexplained reason, no one is aware of his real rank, and he begs *Aida* to conceal it. He and all the prisoners beg for mercy, which the King is inclined to grant; but the priests, inspired with the true spirit of prudent persecution, demand the annihilation of their enemies, and Radames has to remind the King of his promised favour to obtain the liberty of the captives, all of whom are set free except Amonasro, who is kept as a guarantee at the request of Ramphis, the high priest. The King then graciously bestows upon Radames the hand of Amneris—a gift which, as he is desperately in love with *Aida*, is somewhat embarrassing, and the curtain falls on a chorus of praise to Isis. The music of this scene is one of the most marked instances in the opera of the composer's unsuccessful attempt at the power and passion of Herr Wagner's orchestration. The scene is mounted with a remarkable display of dazzle and splendour; the movement, grouping, and colouring of the crowd are excellent, and electric lights are employed in the float to add brilliancy to a spectacle already glittering enough. One would, however, gladly give up all this to hear Signor Verdi at his best again. Signor Graziani, who plays Amonasro, appears for the first time in this scene, and by his beautiful singing and dignified acting adds to its effect; M. Feitlinger sings well and looks imposing as the King, and Signor Nicolini, here, as throughout, gives the tremulous rendering of Radames's music which one has learnt to expect from him.

The third act, which is the finest in the opera, passes on the shores of the Nile. As the scene, which, like all the scenery, is admirably painted, is disclosed, a chorus is heard from the temple of Isis on the right, and presently Amneris and Ramphis, accompanied by guards, appear and enter the temple. *Aida* comes on, to meet Radames; but her father appears instead, and telling her he knows all that is in her heart, conjures her with every art of persuasion he can find to discover from Radames in their coming interview the path by which the Ethiopian army is again to be attacked. That known, her country's warriors will rise and strike down the foe, her position and that of Amneris will be reversed, and Radames will be hers for ever. *Aida* recoils from the idea of treachery, when Amonasro changes his persuasions for threats, and ends by inducing his daughter to consent to his plan. The singing and acting of Signor Graziani and Mme. Patti were here admirable, and Mme. Patti outdid all she had done before in the following duet with Radames. As Radames reveals to her the chosen path, Amonasro enters, and discloses himself; but he is interrupted by Ramphis, who comes in from the temple, having overheard what has passed, and to whom Radames surrenders himself as Amonasro and *Aida* escape.

The last act opens in the King's palace. Radames is led in guarded, to Amneris, who promises to beg for his pardon if he will renounce *Aida*. He refuses, and she sends him out in scorn, which, the moment he has disappeared, is exchanged for love. The priests enter, cross the stage, and descend to a subterranean hall, whence their voices are heard as they call upon Radames to defend himself, and on his silence sentence him to living burial. The music here is singularly ugly, and was made more hideous by Signor Capponi's singing persistently out of tune. As the priests return across the stage, Amneris invokes Heaven's vengeance on their cruelty. Mlle. Gindele's performance in this difficult scene was steady and forcible; much may be hoped from her. The last scene is divided into two stages. Below is the vault beneath the temple to which Radames has been consigned; above a service is seen going on in the temple. While Radames is lamenting his eternal separation from *Aida*, she appears. She

has learnt his doom, and has crept into the vault to share it. They sing a duet, Amneris appears in the temple above offering a prayer for Radames, and the curtain falls.

There is a want of art in thus exhibiting the two lovers after their living interment, which, when the opera was performed at Bologna, the audience resented by throwing, instead of bouquets, rolls and sausages on to the stage to feed the captives. The last scene is both musically and dramatically one of the weakest in the opera. The whole performance, in spite of the excellences which we have noticed in some of those who support it, leaves a sense of irritation at something having been continually aimed at which has never been reached.

## REVIEWS.

### MONT-SAINT-MICHEL.\*

THIS is a book of a kind to which we could hardly find a parallel in England. The Reverend Fathers of the Mount are in some things fairly on a level with the advance of modern knowledge. They can tell the history of the abbey and describe its buildings straightforwardly and intelligibly enough, and with less of mere talk than we see in the mass of guide-books. At the same time they believe every legend and every miracle. They make no fuss about them, but quietly take them for granted, as things which cannot be spoken against. Now in the class of books in our own country which come nearest to this, the writers commonly do make a fuss; they assume a controversial position, they always have the unbelievers before their eyes, ready to be protested against on any fitting opportunity. Our present writers do not seem to recognize the possibility of doubt; the marvels are told quite calmly, just like the rest of the story. In short, the Fathers write very much as a mediæval writer would, allowing for a few ecstasies about Pius the Ninth just at the end, which the Gallican Church, in its sounder days, would hardly have approved of. When we compare this volume, written for edification, with the more strictly antiquarian History of the Mount written by M. Le Hericher thirty years ago, we see no signs that the Fathers have dealt otherwise than fairly with the received story, legendary and historical; and their notions of architectural matters are, as it would be a shame if they were not, the more correct of the two. There is perhaps a little of the local monastic writer's tendency to optimism or its opposite, to view kings and prelates only in their relations to the abbey; but the writers do not attempt to throw a veil over the internal corruption of the monastery at one stage of its history, nor over the abuse of its chief preferment by the Kings of France for several ages before its downfall. On the whole, the book may pass as a kind of summary of M. Le Hericher's larger book, pleasantly enough written, and in some points advanced on the earlier writer. But then the Reverend Fathers accept as undoubted truth a great deal that M. Le Hericher tells as legend. The book is, in short, a monastic chronicle published in 1876, and, as such, it is somewhat of a curiosity.

The original St. Michael's Mount, of which the Cornish imitation of the same name is but a very feeble copy, is indeed a wonderful place, and one which is much sought by visitors of all kinds, tourists and pilgrims. Its main feature is the working together, more thoroughly than anywhere else, of nature and art to form a single whole. In the general view the rock and its buildings, spiring up in one mass, are not distinguished. And, when the church kept its spire, the tapering of the whole mass to one point must have been more perfect still. But no building has been oftener made the prey of a destroying element, and that not the element to which it seems most exposed. "St. Michael in Peril of the Sea" would have been more truly called "St. Michael in Peril of the Lightning." While the sea has done little mischief, the lightning has fallen, we think, thirteen times, always with greater or less damage to the spire or roof. The spire is now there no longer; but the conical character of the mount and all that it carries is still well kept up. The mass is so imposing, and is seen from so great a distance in all directions, that it is hard to believe that the mount itself is not much above a hundred and fifty feet high. But, standing in the sea or on the sands—each phrase is true at different states of the tide—it has every advantage of situation, and of course the buildings raise the mass to a far greater height. Not an inch of ground is lost; abbey, castle, and town among them cover every available space. It is this massing together of buildings of various kinds in so small a space which gives St. Michael's Mount its special architectural character, just as the union of the peculiar circumstances which led to their erection gives the history of the place its special character. Here were the buildings of a great monastery to be raised on a spot where it was utterly impossible that they should be set out according to the ordinary rule. Instead of being built side by side, they had to be built one over the other. Add to this that, alongside of the ecclesiastical element, a military element crept in from an early time. The abbey needed defences, and its defences gradually grew into a great fortress which somewhat overshadowed the original object of the place. The fortress grew

into a prison, and the holy place of St. Michael became the dungeon of the victims of successive Kings. The Revolution made it a prison and nothing else; at last, within a few years past, the place has come back to something like its original use. The prisoners are gone, and the rock has been handed over to the Bishop of Coutances and Avranches, who has planted there the missionary fathers whose history of their dwelling-place we have now before us. At the first glimpse of the rock we at once feel that it was almost in the nature of things that such a site should be seized on, either for monastic or for military purposes. While no place could be better suited for solitary devotion, the rock seems put there as if on purpose to receive a fortress for the defence of the bay. Perhaps we should not have said that no place was better suited for monastic purposes, for just by there is the smaller rock of Tombelaine still better suited for the eremitical life, and which has in truth shared in both the functions of its greater neighbour. It has been the site both of a fort and of a monastic cell, and it played an important part in the great siege of the Mount in the fifteenth century. But while both the monk and the soldier seem in their places on the Mount, we should hardly have looked for the secular priest. At least we should have looked for him only with reference to the lay population, military or civil. We should certainly not have looked for a body of secular priests as the first ecclesiastical occupants of the place. Yet so it was; when the Benedictines were first brought in by Duke Richard the Fearless in 966, they took the place of a body of secular canons, who, according to the legend, had been founded by Aubert, or Autbert, Bishop of Avranches, in obedience to an apparition of the archangel himself. From Duke Richard's time to the Revolution, the Mount remained the seat of an abbey, though from the fifteenth century onwards the post of abbot became more and more abused, being held in *commendam* by all kinds of non-resident holders, a state of things which of course led to a great decay of discipline. In 1622 the house was reformed by the introduction of a congregation of monks from St. Maur, and from that time, through the seventeenth century, the church was ruled by priors, though the nominal abbots went on. The strangest abbot of all was surely John Frederick Karq, a German baron, Chancellor to the Elector of Köln, and Councillor—our earlier book says, to the Bishop of Bamberg, our later one, to the Elector of Bavaria. As he was an abbot, the Reverend Fathers have a good word for him:—"Ses vertus et sa noblesse lui méritèrent le titre d'abbé très-illustre: abbas illustrissimus." The lay historian speaks more freely:—

Après les abbés réguliers les commendataires, après les commendataires les étrangers; un allemand sur le siège de Robert du Mont, un étranger chef de la forteresse invaincue, telle était la décadence.

There is, as M. Le Hericher says, something strange in the sight of a German in the chair of Robert du Mont, only, as M. Le Hericher himself says, he never sat there in person. But his appointment has also another side to it. The nominal abbacy of Karq lasted from 1704 to 1719; and the fact that Louis the Fourteenth found a German, a minister of German princes, to whom he thought it expedient to make such a gift, is a speaking sign of the influence which the French King had won in the courts of Germany, and of the number of Germans and German princes whom he had seduced into treason against their country.

Alongside of all this, the military element in the Mount was fast growing. The Mount was a fortress before the end of the eleventh century, as it was there that the Ætheling Henry was besieged by his brothers. After the Mount passed, along with continental Normandy, under the power of France, its military character became stronger and stronger. It is its special boast in this character that, when Normandy was again brought back under the rule of a descendant of Rolf and William, the Mount alone kept its allegiance to the King, no longer of Paris, but of Bourges. The repulse of the English after the great siege of this date is really an exploit to be proud of, and it is well to see the cannon which played a part in it—the *michelettes*, as they are called—still kept there as fitting memorial. The design of some showman to carry them off to a museum was happily thwarted. Later in the century came Louis the Eleventh's order of St. Michael, with its local habitation on the Mount, like our own Knights of the Garter at Windsor, or of the Bath at Westminster. They are commemorated in the splendid hall of the knights, where their chapters were held, but which was not built for them. In later times comes that vain attempt of the Huguenot Montgommery to get possession of the Mount which has so oddly given his name to one of the vast substructures. Later still the Mount, already a prison, was taken by the Vendéans, who delivered a number of captive priests. The abbey certainly had been hardly used by the revolutionists, for during the first meetings of the National Assembly the monks had made large gifts from their treasures to the national cause.

The buildings of the abbey, as we have already said, are necessarily placed one upon another instead of side by side. Thus is formed that gigantic pile of vast buildings, piled story upon story, which are worthily called *La Merneille*. The lowest range of this is formed by the two great vaulted halls, one of them forming the almonry, which have so strangely taken the name of the Montgommeries from the Huguenot attempt of the sixteenth century. Over them are, side by side, two vaulted halls of the best work of the thirteenth century, one of which, with slender columns, was the refectory of the monks, while the other, with more massive columns, but with equally graceful work, became from the time of Louis the Eleventh the hall of the knights. Above these again is the dormitory, which has suffered more

\* *Histoire du Mont-Saint-Michel au Pêril de la Mer. Ouvrage orné de plusieurs Photographies. En vente chez les RR. PP. du Mont-Saint-Michel. (Manche.) 1876.*



than any other part of the building—more, that is, in the way of mere disfigurement, though the damage done to the church has been more irreparable. While the other buildings are thus piled up stage by stage, the cloister stands in its ordinary relation to the church. Of the Romanesque church, half the nave has been destroyed, and the choir has given way to a lofty work of the fifteenth century, in the French style of that age. But it is round the Romanesque remains that the great architectural interest of the place gathers. How much of it, if any, is the work of Abbot Hildebert, who began to build in 1020, of Abbot Ralph, who between 1048 and 1060 built the great tower, and of Abbot Randolph, who finished the nave between 1060 and 1085? Roger again (1106 to 1123) and Bernard (1133 to 1149) are both said to have made repairs or rebuildings in the nave. How much of the eleventh-century work is left? A good deal of evidence is destroyed by the way in which the capitals have been allowed to be carved out in all manner of strange ways, sometimes by the prisoners while the abbey was still a gaol. The capitals thus give very little help one way or another; the great range of pillars certainly has an early look, and so has the outside of the south aisle more incontestably. We should be inclined to think that these parts belong to the eleventh-century building, but that the triforium and clerestory are due to some of the later repairs.

The greatest of the abbots of Saint-Michel, the man who was especially "of the Mount," Robert of Thorigny, Robertus de Monte, the councillor and the historian of the days of Henry the Second, seems to have left but little traces of his work in the church itself, though in other parts of the house are vaults and arcades of his rearing in the transitional style of his day. Under him the Mount became the "city of books"; his abbacy from 1184 to 1186 all but exactly coincides with the reign of the Duke and King with whom his reign is so closely connected.

The Reverend Fathers of the Mount are, as might be expected, loyal Frenchmen, and firmly believe that France existed in 725. At page 49 they record, in inverted commas, but without saying whence the extract is made, a very unexpected proceeding on the part of Charles the Great:—

Après son couronnement, qui eut lieu en 800, l'illustre empereur fit placer sur ses étendards l'image de l'archange Saint-Michel, et, par cet acte solennel, le premier d'entre les anges et les archanges fut déclaré le chef de la première nation du monde: "Patronus et princeps imperii Galliarum."

The only "imperium Galliarum" that we ever heard of till quite modern times was that which was set up by Civilis, whom we cannot conceive to have been a votary of the archangel.

#### LIFE WITH THE HAMRAN ARABS.\*

MR. MYERS has no need to make apologies for the simple form in which he has published his sporting diaries. Unpretentious as they are, the mere literary workmanship is excellent of its kind, and one would scarcely suppose that they were written in the spare moments of a busy life in the wilderness; often after a hard day's hunting, and occasionally when the thermometer was standing at over 150° in the sun. They tell us just what we want to know; they will be useful as guides to future travellers and sportsmen who may bend their steps towards those parts of the Soudan; and although incidents often repeat themselves, and the mixed bags of game were very apt to resemble each other, yet there is no unpleasant sense of monotony. They are always more or less exciting; while towards the end they have an almost thrilling interest of a mournful character. For accidents and misfortunes delayed the return march of the party through the desert to the seaport where they were to re-embark, and one of the sportsmen, who might otherwise have recovered from his illness, succumbed to the hardships he was compelled to endure. Mr. Myers proved himself a most devoted friend to his brother officer, Lord Ranfurly. He has the satisfaction of knowing that he did all that man could do for him in the way both of disinterested self-sacrifice and careful nursing and attendance; and he describes his own exertions and the fluctuations in the state of the patient with equal modesty and tenderness.

The expedition which had so melancholy an ending opened with the brightest prospects, and up to a certain point was carried out with the greatest success. In most material respects it was in striking contrast to Lord Mayo's sporting experiences in Abyssinia which we had lately occasion to notice. Mr. Myers and his friends were fortunate in making heavy bags, and, once away from the coast and the more demoralized coast tribes, they got on excellently with the natives. Their independent party consisted of four officers in the Guards—Lord Coke, Sir William Gordon Cumming, Captain Vivian, and the author. As it chanced, on their voyage down the Red Sea they fell in with Lord Ranfurly and Mr. Arkwright, who had started on their own account, as also with Lord Mayo and his companion. The Khedive had done all in his power to forward their objects, and they had introductions from Nubar Pasha which proved exceedingly valuable. By a strange coincidence, both of the high foreign officials in the Egyptian service to whose good offices they were specially recommended have come since then to untimely ends. Arekel Bey was killed in the Abyssinian expedition; Mun-

zinger Pasha, whom they found with his headquarters at Kassala in command of the surrounding regions, has since been assassinated by the Arabs. From Souakim to Kassala the distance is variously estimated at from two hundred and eighty to two hundred and ninety-six miles. There are "two well-defined camel tracks," one of which closely follows the line of the telegraph, and this line leads along a series of telegraph stations piqueted by Egyptian soldiers. At Kassala, Munzinger Pasha did the honours to the strangers, showing them all that was worth seeing, from the State prison to his Government cotton factory, and the management of these various public institutions impressed his English visitors very favourably. Speeding his parting guests, he provided them with a couple of Bashi-bazouks in the Khedive's service, and the presence of this slender escort proved very serviceable among the Arabs they came in contact with. We do not know what may have been the moral effect of the reported successes of the Abyssinians in repelling the invading Egyptian force. But at that time the wise and firm administration of Munzinger Pasha appears to have imposed on the Arab tribes of the Soudan, and those of them whose wealth consists in their herds of cattle, and who suffer at once from the exactions of their sheikhs and the predatory expeditions of their more lawless neighbours in the mountains, would have gladly submitted themselves to Egyptian supremacy. When they left Kassala, the sporting party were bound for the chief village of the Hamran tribe, where they hoped to provide themselves with horses, guides, and fresh camels of burden. Readers of Sir Samuel Baker's book on the White Nile and its tributaries will remember his account of those daring hunters (agageers) who are in the habit of killing the elephant by severing the monster's sinews by a sweeping slash of their keen scimitars. Mr. Myers and his companions found the Hamran men all that Sir Samuel had described them, and they made the acquaintance of the famous veteran Jali, who was afterwards bribed to attach himself to Sir William Gordon Cumming. But Aghil, their Sheikh, was very far from being a favourable specimen of his race. With an imposing affectation of free-handed hospitality, he was as close-fisted in his dealings as the sharpest of Jew traders, and he made a practice of levying remorseless contributions, to say nothing of forced benevolences, on the wages paid to his people by the Englishmen. It is satisfactory to learn that, before the sportsmen left his country, he fell a victim to a movement of popular indignation, and it had become a question whether the ruler who replaced him would leave him in possession of his ill-gotten wealth. But the men who engaged themselves as guides and hunters were pretty nearly all that could be desired. They threw themselves into the sport with intense ardour, and tracked with equal skill and perseverance. Their worst fault was want of self-control in the excitement of a stalk that promised to be successful. The exception that proved the rule was not a genuine member of the Hamran tribe, but a full-blooded negro, who had fallen by lot to Lord Coke when the hunters were distributed among the several gentlemen. Said's freaks might have been amusing in a sporting burlesque, but more than once they nearly resulted in very serious consequence. On one occasion he plucked his master by the coat-tails just as his lordship was taking a point-blank shot at a charging lion, thus sending the bullet into the air instead of the body of the animal. Another time he interposed between the game and the gun, chasing the lord of the forest when he had turned tail and was bolting. Although all the gentlemen were excellent shots, and seem to have been blessed with steady nerves, they had some very narrow escapes. As it was, the most serious accident happened to Sir William Cumming, and was caused, in a very extraordinary way, by a maâriff, a large species of antelope. He had walked up to the wounded animal, fancying it was dying; when, perceiving that it had more life left in it than he expected, he prudently turned to retreat. Whereupon the maâriff sprang to its legs, rushed after him, and fairly tossed him. Though he had the pluck to finish his day's hunting, his leg was severely lacerated, and he was laid up for some time in camp.

Although the sport varied, on the whole it was excellent; and, in the course of the expedition, the travellers killed almost everything that was to be met with. As they themselves confessed, their well-armed party must have been no small nuisance to the parties of Arab hunters they repeatedly encountered; and it was much to the credit of these men that they were generally civil and friendly. Elephants abound at certain seasons and in certain districts. Near some of their earlier camps on the banks of the rivers, they saw the thickly-leaved jungle intersected everywhere by the tracks of the huge animals, as a patch of English grass by hare or rabbit runs. Once Mr. Myers, returning from a night of watching, had a very awkward encounter in one of these paths, when he and an elephant met almost face to face. But a little shooting suffices to clear a district, and then the elephants may travel immense distances to places whither it may be inconvenient to follow them. The rhinoceros was common enough, and although he is considered one of the most formidable of animals, they had begun half to believe that he might be stalked and shot with impunity, when some ugly charges made them modify their opinion. There were black buffalo in plenty; and many varieties of the antelope species, from the magnificent maâriff, which stands higher than the red deer, down to the tiny gazelles. The flesh of all these animals was in great request with their followers, who were joined in their savage feasts by any of their outlying countrymen who might chance to be camping in the vicinity. And, as Mr. Myers remarks with satisfaction, no scrap of the meat was wasted, except in so far as the revellers overgorged themselves. For all that was left was

\* *An Account of a Sporting Tour of some Officers of the Guards in the Soudan, during the Winter of 1874-75.* By Arthur B. R. Myers, Surgeon, Coldstream Guards. Smith, Elder, & Co. 1876.

cut in strips and hung in the sun to be cured, when it was packed off to the villages to supply the storehouses. The rhinoceroses and buffaloes went a long way towards feeding the multitude; but their grand resource was the hippopotamuses, which generally swarmed in the pools. These wary animals just showed nose and eyes and dived again instantly. The sportsmen circumvented them by covering the spot where the snout had disappeared; and if it came up, as it often did, in the same place, a rifle ball was sent into the creature's brain. Then the struggling carcass would sink, to float again sooner or later; when it would be dragged ashore in spite of the crocodiles and cut up and distributed with extraordinary dexterity. Sometimes the meat hanging from the branches in their camps attracted unwelcome night visitors. Lions generally serenaded them; on one occasion one of these animals woke up one of the sleepers; and it became clear next morning, from the footprints on the sand, that he had actually been prowling round the beds. They were exceedingly difficult to find during the daytime, owing not only to the danger of beating out the thick covers where they have their lairs, but to the close similarity of the colouring of their hides to the tints of the ground and leaves. A good many were brought to bag, however, although more than once nothing but quick and steady shooting saved the sportsmen from being the victims of the encounter.

We have said that the expedition which began so well ended under much less cheerful circumstances. The party appeared to have lingered somewhat too long in the country, till the intensity of the heat made exposure to it dangerous. First one man broke down, then another. Besides poor Lord Ranfurly, the Greek interpreter became seriously ill, and he had not Lord Ranfurly's pluck. One or two of the guides and followers were affected besides, and Mr. Myers himself, when the thermometer was standing at nearly 160° in the sun, began to have grave cause to be alarmed about himself. He was saved by a timely bleeding, which he performed with some difficulty, and it was well that his strong constitution had time to rally before they undertook the return journey from Kassala to the coast. Their camel-men deserted repeatedly. Some of the animals which they did procure were wretched, tottering feebly along at the rate of two miles an hour, in the glaring sun and scorching winds. Their provisions nearly gave out, the few remaining delicacies being reserved for the use of Lord Ranfurly, and they had to depend mainly on the rifle for supplies. Finally, they suffered great extremities from scarcity of water, and their arriving at Souakim at all appears to have been a very near thing. It was said that, after going through so much, Lord Ranfurly should have sunk when he had got safely on board the Suez steamer, and been made tolerably comfortable there. His fate is a warning that such an expedition may involve much suffering and danger, especially if it be unduly prolonged; and yet the account of the friendly Hamran Arabs and the fascinating photographs of splendid hunting trophies will certainly tempt other parties of sportsmen to pass the desert to the hunting fields of the Soudan.

#### THE OERA LINDA BOOK.\*

IT is scarcely from the private heirlooms of a person at Helder that we should expect to receive an ancient document of the thirteenth century written in the Old Frisian language, which occupies in modern print 125 octavo pages, and immensely increases the scanty extant literature of that little cultivated member of the Low German family. Still less is it from the Frisians at all that we should expect to receive a narrative of their own early history and wanderings—of their prehistoric history, we should rather say, for their own eponymus Friso figures as one of the later of their heroes. If we add that, though the manuscript bears date in the thirteenth century, it professes to be only a copy of an earlier one still, that being similarly copied from an earlier, and so on, till we reach the year 559 B.C. as the actual year of the composition of the earliest and largest portion of the history, the marvel becomes truly stupendous.

The contents of this extraordinary book are no less wonderful than its alleged date and fortunes. We have been accustomed to rely on the evidence afforded by the formation of languages and the migration of mythology and the earliest arts practised by mankind, for proofs that the Western nations were in prehistoric times united in a common home on the high plateau of Bactria with the ancestors of the Persians and Hindús. No one has been surprised that no minute details have been preserved of the successive westward movements of the progenitors of those who later in Europe were called Kelts or Cymry, Hellenes, Latins, Teutons, and Slaves. Nomads have no history; their movements are constant, one day resembles another, and even one fight for the possession of a pasture resembles another. Until this stage is passed, and a settlement in fixed communities is effected, no political life, no strong national bond, and consequently no reflection on the causes of events, which produces history, can yet exist. A few vague memories are all that can survive at this early stage of civilization. If other nations have attained a higher stage of civilization, we may obtain from them authentic information; and

thus from Greek, Roman, and Chinese writers we learn the authentic facts of the migration of the Huns. But there were no civilized witnesses of the first settlement of the Aryan race in Europe. Are the Frisians to form an exception to the general rule? Are we to believe that the submersion of the land north of the mouths of the Ems and the Weser, which stretched over the North Sea, and made the present islands of Heliogoland, Föhr, Sylt, &c. part of the continent, was remembered by the Frisians, and used by them as an historical era corresponding precisely with 2193 B.C.? that even its name, the Old Land (Aldland or Atland, identified by the editor, Dr. Ottema, with Plato's sunken island of Atlantis!) was preserved? If we yield ourselves to such marvels as these, more remains quite as much calculated to disturb our equanimity. As long ago as 2092 B.C., we are told, a people came out of the East, which was dubbed by the Frisians Fins:—"They were not wild people, like most of Finda's race; but, like the Egyptians, they have priests and also statues in their churches. The priests are the only rulers; they call themselves Magyars, and their head man Magy. He is high priest and king in one." One of these clauses we must quote in the original:—"Men êlik anda Egipta-landar, hja hävath pretera lik tham and nw hja kärke häve äk byldon." It truly required a wonderful gift of prophecy in the writer Adela, Burgtmaagd, or virgin leader, in 559 B.C., to employ the future words *priest* and *church* (the Greek-Christian *πρεσβύτερος* and *κυριακή*), which could be intelligible to none of her contemporaries; and still more striking is the historical prolepsis which allows the Magyars, who appeared in Hungary, and as is commonly believed in Europe, only towards the end of the ninth century after Christ, to have entered Frisia in the twenty-first before Christ, calling themselves by the modern form of name, not by the older forms Moger, Mager, or Meger, or, as we should expect, by an older still than these. That Magyars belonged to the Finnish nation would, no doubt, be more evident than than now, and Adela here affords a brilliant confirmation of the discovery of their common origin, which was first announced in modern times by Rudbeck and others early in the last century. From the incursions of the Fins, or Magyars, the Frisians fled, and found near Alkmaar an old sea-king, who had three nephews, Wodin, Teunis, and Inka; Wodin was chosen leader, or king; Teunis sea-king, and Inka admiral. We thought that the very idea of "sea-kings" was exploded, ever since it was discovered that the Scandinavians called them not so, but Vikings, which means people of the *viks*, or bays, into which they sailed on their predatory voyages. Yet here a veritable sea-king of primeval date seems to be discovered—venerable indeed, since it turns out that from his name, "Nephew Teunis," or Nef Tūnis, he came to be called Neptunus, and led the people to the Mediterranean, the sea that he most affected. Here they arrived in Phœnicia exactly 2000 B.C., found Sidon already existing, and themselves built Tyre, which they called "Thyrisburg," on the suggestion of the Magyars and Fins who were with them (though it was to escape from them that the expedition originally started), from the Finnish god Thy. If the editor's note that Thy was son of Odin be correct, the connexion of the elements of the story becomes confused and embarrassed. Wodin was a living man, and leader of part of the Frisian nation at this very time; how came his son to be a god, and not of the Frisians, but of the Fins? Again, we know of the god Thor, so called in Scandinavia, whose name in the German languages preserves its original *n* (as in *tonitru*), Old High German *Donar*, Anglo-Saxon *Thuner*, Old Frisian *Thuner*, *Tonger*; how comes the Frisian writer of the highest antiquity to use the later non-German contracted form? and why, when the real name of the city was *Saör* in Phœnician and all Semitic dialects, did the founders call it *Thyr*, altering both the initial consonant and the vowel? Was it to conciliate the Greeks, who insisted on calling it *Týros*?

One of the next events was the foundation of Marseilles by the Tyrians, who bought from the Frisians the island on which it was situated. The bargain proving disastrous to the sellers, they called the place "Mis-selja," "as wi äternêi sägon ho wi misên hêde." Now here we have perfectly new information. We knew before of the Phœcean colony of Massalia, founded about 600 B.C., which became one of the greatest commercial cities in the ancient world; we knew that the Romans called it Massilia, and that in recent times an important Punic inscription had been found there; but we did not know that another city, with a name curiously differing only in the vowels, had been founded on the same spot more than a thousand years earlier. Why the Phœnician inhabitants, who, according to the Frisian account, had the best of the bargain, adopted the name expressing the sentiments of the other side as to its being a mis-sell, or, we might say still more briefly, a "sell," is not very obvious; and in those days of omens their conduct might seem portentous. However, so it stands written. At the same time, the Gola are mentioned as "missionary priests" (?) from Sidon; but they turn out to be the Galli, who subsequently swarmed over France, and further to Britain. We should have expected at this age to find the dental letter which is still written in Gadhel, pronounced as well; or that, if it was so unfortunate as to be absorbed at its very source, it would have left its trace in the reduplication of the following consonant, as in the vastly later Latin *Galli*. The vowel *o* is also noteworthy, as showing how extremes may meet, the oldest and the youngest; for is not *Gaulois* modern French, while the middle centuries, with Latin *Gallus*, and Highland *Gadhel*, exhibit the vowel *a* instead?

We are taken next to that city of incredible antiquity, Middelburg in Walcheren; five hundred and sixty-three years after the

\* *The Oera Linda Book, from a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century.* The Original Frisian Text, accompanied by an English Version of Dr. Ottema's Dutch Translation by William R. Sandbach. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.



submersion of Atland, in B.C. 1630, a wise town-priestess presided here, whose name was Min-erva—called by the sailors Nyhel-lenia. This name was well chosen, for her counsels were *new and clear* (ny and hel) above all others. The translator seems to be here at fault, for the old Frisian hel is the modern German *heil*, Eng. whole, i.e. wholesome, not *hell*=clear. But the etymology scarcely “goes on all fours,” for the last part of the name is left out. Might we suggest, as a likely sailor’s form, “New-whole-un”? It has at least the analogy of “Billy Rough-un” in its favour. Next comes a mysterious leader called Jon; by whom, though he was a Frisian born, as every one seems to be, we suspect the Greek Ion to be meant. The scene is again shifted to the Mediterranean, with Ion and Min-erva for leaders. The land to which they came is called by the writer (559 B.C.) Krékaland, or Greek land—a name which, though she could not have learned it from the possessors of the land, might have been telegraphed to her from Rome, if indeed the Romans had adopted that name for their neighbours as early as the time of Servius Tullius. The writer indeed appears to be aware of the native name when she says that the inhabitants of Attica “were clothed in skins, and had their dwellings on the slopes of the hills, wherefore they were called [by our people] *Hellingers*—Hja wéron mith selum tekad & hju hédon hjara skula vppa hellinga thera bergum. Thérthrvch send hja thrvch va folk *Hellinggar* hétéen.” Min-erva proceeded to found a citadel in the country, and called it “Athenia,” that those who came after her might know that she and her people came, not by cunning or violence, but were received as *friends* (átha). Pity that those who did come after her did not understand Frisian, so that Min-erva’s “happy thought” has been sealed up from the knowledge of Athenians till the publication of this book. If the Spartans had known that the Athenians were “Friends,” might not the Peloponnesian war have been averted? Verily much is in a name. But, while we are on this subject, we should like to know by what right Min-erva appeared as the founder of Athens at all. That the Min-erva of our book is the same as the Roman goddess of wisdom is evident from the peaceful character ascribed to her. But we had imagined the goddess of the Athenian citadel to be the terrible armed and warlike Pallas, also called Athene, but never in ancient times confounded with the Roman Minerva, who might have experienced a rather rough reception from her warlike sister-goddess if she had claimed part or parcel of the Acropolis. If this point remains obscure, at least we learn from more ancient authority than was hitherto attainable how the Roman goddess’s name is to be written. Let none henceforth forget the hyphen in Min-erva, which is doubtless as dear to its possessor and as cabalistic to every one else as that which unites certain modern names we have seen, such as Pye-Smith and Baring-Gould. We next hear of Min-erva’s death, after which disunion ensued between the Frisians at Athens and the people of the country; “but as we had built our stone city-wall with two horns down to the sea, they could not get at us.” What can these *horns* be but the Long Walls which connected Athens with her new port of Peiræus and enclosed both, the building of which Thucydides, it would appear, post-dates by more than a thousand years in assigning it to the time of Kimon. Manuscript authority, based on documents of higher antiquity than Thucydides or of Kimon himself, now connects the building of the walls with the name Sékrops, an Egyptian high-priest who appeared on the scene at that time. The controversy about the hard or soft pronunciation of the Latin *c* is obscure and difficult, one of the strongest arguments for its constant hard sound being its acknowledged identity with the Greek *κ*, which has been assumed to be always hard. But the *κ* appears from this testimony (assuming that Sékrops is *Σέκρως*) to have been softened exactly where modern practice softens the *c*, which will close the dispute against those who objected to the traditional system.

Next, the Frisians move off, and a Tyrian pilot takes them through the strait which at that time ran out into the Red Sea. At last they landed at *Pangab*—that is, in our speech, Five Waters, because five running streams here flow to the sea. Thus we see that within human memory Africa was an island, and that, instead of being puzzled to find where Moses could have passed, we may conclude that there was water enough anywhere to drown the pursuing Egyptians. Also that the dates hitherto set down for the various stages of ancient Persian history must be indefinitely extended. If the Panj-áb went by its modern Persian name somewhere about 1300 B.C., how far back must the Old Persian, and still more the Zend, be shifted? This discovery is, it must be confessed, one of the most uncomfortable that the manuscript presents us with. The language used by Darius Hystaspes in his celebrated inscription at Behistún is very ancient Persian, still rich in inflexions which the modern language (exemplified by Panj-áb) has entirely discarded. Either the cuneiform inscription, therefore, or our Frisian manuscript, is at fault. This difficulty, strengthening some misgivings which we had felt before, but suppressed as unnecessary scepticism (and we ought to believe where we can, and even a little further), makes it incumbent on us to look again over the manuscript, with a critical eye this time, determined to let nothing pass muster which will not bear the severest scrutiny. Historical criticism ought to be applied, and would perhaps yield some startling results; but as our sketch hitherto has been mainly historical, we now take another course, and proceed to test the language.

The oldest Frisian extant (in some of the law-books) is of the middle of the thirteenth century of our era at earliest. The letter

signed Hiddo prefixed to the present document bears the date 1256. It ought therefore to be written in language similar to, and equally carefully inflected with, that of the earliest laws. But we soon find the writer’s ideas of gender and case to be hazy in the extreme. No inflexion is more universal than *m* in the dative plural of all Old German dialects; in Old Frisian it appears as *um*. It is confined to the dative, and not extended to the accusative. Yet here we have “*háb ik thám ut-er flod hred*” (I have saved them out of the flood); in which *thám* should be *tha*, and *ut-er*, for *ut-there* or *ut-ther*, feminine dative, is hopelessly wrong, *flod* being neuter, and ought to be *uta*. These contracted forms prove frequent pitfalls. We have immediately afterwards “*háb ik-ra up wrlándisk pampyer wrskréven*” (I have copied them on outlandish paper), where *ra* must stand for gen. or dat. sing. f. *there*, gen. pl. f. *thera*, or gen. pl. *hiara*, whereas an accusative is required; and in this, as in many passages, the prefix *ur* (*ur*) appears to be used instead of *ut*; *utskrift* is an actual word denoting a writing out, a copy, whereas *urskreven* ought to mean “written over,” which is not to the point. In like manner, *wrlándisk* should manifestly be *utlándisk*. “*Se umbiáttath*” (they contain) looks very suspicious. In the third person pronoun the *m*. and *f*. nominative singular is in three of the oldest Teutonic languages, the Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, and Old Norse, formed from a root distinct from that of the rest of the pronoun, commencing with *s* instead of *th* (*d*); Goth. *sa, só* (but neut. *thata*), A.-S. *se, seo*. This peculiarity is, however, not shared by the Old High German (which has *der, de*), nor by the Old Frisian (which has *thi, thiu*); nor is it in any Teutonic language extended to the plural, although the Greek (but not the Sanskrit) does—*ó ñ oi al*. Here we have the extraordinary form *se* given as a fem. nom. pl., in a document which pretends to be written at Leeuwarden at the same date as the laws in which the form *tha* is used. It seems to be somebody’s “happy thought,” and like many such, neither particularly happy nor carefully thought out.

In the next letter, that of Liko, dated A.D. 803, we might expect a language and spelling considerably more antique. Yet there is little essential difference. The same peculiarities in the use of cases are observable here also. *Mith* (with), which governs a dative, is here followed by *kénninggar*, which can only be nom. pl.; and *thruichdam* (= *thruich thám*), intended for “through that,” is written by one who seems to have forgotten that *thruich* governs an accusative, and therefore the only correct form would be *thruich thet*. The *d* for *th* which he has adopted as the initial of the pronoun is the reverse of antique. The writers of these two letters agree curiously in omitting the conjunction which ought to follow; “thereby that,” *thruich thet thet* as we have it in the laws; and in the previous letter “*til thiu*” for *til thiu thet*. We find here *éthlas*, a gen. sing., apparently intended for a plural; and the past participle of the verb *to be* given as *wést*, instead of (*e*) *wesin* or (*e*) *wesen*.

When from these letters we turn to the alleged document of 559 B.C. itself, we are surprised to find the same language, with the same deviations from the usual concords, only that these are immensely multiplied, and occur in every line. Indeed we must here abandon the courtesy by which we have hitherto met the statements of the manuscript on their own ground, and endeavoured to find them not inconsistent with truth. No hypothesis of vitiation of the text in successive copyings between 559 B.C. and 1256 A.D. can account for the grammatical errors, which are simply signs of utter ignorance of the grammatical concords forming an integral part of the Frisian language in the thirteenth century. On the second page of the book of Adela we find “*unthónkes thene wald hjara aldrum*” (in spite of the power of their parents), where *unthónkes* (which ought to govern a genitive, not an accusative like the modern Dutch *ondanks*) falsely stands before the accusative of the article; and this again is masculine, though its noun *wald* is feminine; and *hjarar*, if correct, must be gen. plur., with which the dat. plur. *aldrum* stands in startling discord. This same dative form in *um* stands also three times as a nominative, and the dative plural pronoun *thám* similarly three times for nominative *tha*. The accusative *m*. sing. pronoun *thene* appears for the nominative. The verbs are wrongly conjugated, the later weak conjugation being often used instead of the strong, as *waxton* for *waxen*, *krupton* for *kropen*; adjectives are followed by wrong cases, *obedient* taking an acc. instead of dat., and *powerful* having after it a form which cannot be genitive. Words are used in modern significations, as *dédon* (did) in the sense of *to cause*, and *tal* for “language” like the modern Dutch *taal*. Travelling beyond the one page, we find the Old Frisian word *famme* or *femme* despoiled of its *n*, and nearly always appearing as *fám*, which is clearly the modern *faem*. Further, there is a very suspicious phrase “*to thère fiéte jefta bedrum*” (to her *fleet* or bedroom). The writer has forgotten the gender of the obsolete word *flet*, and prefixed a fem. instead of a neut. article; he also betrays his modernness by thinking it necessary to add the explanation, which would be absurd if the writing was really old. Moreover, *bedrum* looks especially modern, the word *rum*, *raum* being an adjective (=roomy) in the older Teutonic languages, and only subsequently a substantive, which, again, was long used in the sense of *open space* before it assumed (as only in English) that of a closed chamber. The case appears worse when we find that a bedroom appears always to be called in both High and Low German dialects of the Continent a *sleep-chamber*, Dutch *slaapvertrek*, German *schlafstube*, *schlaf-kammer*. One very characteristic feature of the book is the attempt to give it the appearance of antiquity by adopting antique and obsolete words, and perhaps even inventing such. The con-

stant use of *famme* for *megith* or *maged* (maid) is an instance of this; a stronger one is *mangert*, which appears to be invented as the prototype of *maged*, and intended to stand nearer its origin, *man-gert* being *man-begeerd*, "desired of men," though the root *ger* seems not to be Frisian at all; and *maged* or *megith* is proved by the Gothic *magaths* not to be a compound word at all. The use of forms in *a* or *e*, instead of the lighter and generally later vowel *e*, is adopted to give an air of antiquity; *thissa*, *usa* for *thisse*, *use*, *dédon* for *déden*. But we are literally overwhelmed by matter. These things occur on every page and every line.

The introduction, in which Dr. Ottema vindicates the genuineness of the manuscript both on the ground of its correct use of an obsolete dialect which no one could write now, and of the credibility of its contents, is an extraordinary performance. He is still living in the days of Euhemerus, and neither Welcker nor Max Müller has spoken to him. The lives of Neptune and Minerva, therefore, interest him as additions to our knowledge. From the statement that Adel, son of Friso, visited the pile-dwellings of Switzerland about 250 B.C., which were never seen subsequently till 1853, he infers that "no one could have invented this account in the intervening period." Rightly enough, but what of the subsequent period? As to the language, "At a later date (than 1256) a forgery is equally impossible, for the simple reason that no one was acquainted with the language. Except Grimm, Richthofen, and Hettema, no one can be named sufficiently versed in that branch of philology, or who had studied the language so as to be able to write in it." But, as we have shown, the very slight knowledge of the language obtainable by a careful use of Richthofen's Old Frisian dictionary, which has been constantly in our hands, would alone be sufficient to preserve any more skilled forger from half the errors and anachronisms of the manuscript. Dr. Eelco Verwijs, who is mentioned as having first pronounced the language to be "very ancient Fries," lies under the imputation of being ignorant of the most elementary facts of the grammar of the language he spoke about; and so he, or some other Frisian of similar calibre, is precisely the sort of person who possesses all the qualifications requisite to produce such a work as the present. How far Dr. Ottema is competent to defend the manuscript before the world may further be estimated from the fact that he states that the form of the Greek letters "differs so entirely from that of Phœnician and Hebrew writing, that in that particular no connexion can be thought of between them." Has he, whilst speaking of the most ancient times, never examined the earliest form of Greek and of Phœnician and Hebrew letters, which establishes, not distant similarity, but actual identity?

We wish we could say a word in praise of the English translator's work. But his knowledge of modern Dutch greatly resembles the original author's knowledge of Old Frisian. The possessor of the manuscript, "eerste Meesterknecht bij's Rijks Marine-werf," is elevated in the translation into "Chief Superintendent of the Royal Dockyard." Of the manuscript he translates from Ottema's introduction that "all that was known was that a tradition contained in it had from generation to generation been recommended to careful preservation." What tradition? where and how recommended? The original says "that a tradition attached to it had recommended the careful preservation of it (the manuscript) from generation to generation." He makes Dr. Ottema say, "The manuscript being placed in my hands, I also felt very doubtful, though I could not understand what object any one could have in inventing a false composition only to keep it a secret. This doubt remained until I had examined carefully-executed facsimiles of two fragments, and afterwards of the whole manuscript"—so that the sight of facsimiles brought the conviction which that of the manuscript itself had failed to inspire. An intelligent translator ought surely to have seen that this was nonsense. The literal translation of the original is as follows:—"The copy, being placed in my hands, left me also at first in uncertainty, although I felt less alarm [than E. Verwijs] because I could not imagine that any one would have set up a forged writing without any object, and only to keep it secret. Yet the uncertainty remained until I got under my eyes accurate facsimiles of a few fragments, and subsequently the manuscript itself [not a facsimile of the whole manuscript, the idea of which, from its bulk, is preposterous]." We will spare Mr. Sandbach any further exposition of his mistakes, and conclude with the expression of a hope that, if he again contributes to literature, he may be more fortunate than again to circulate a palpable forgery, and wiser than to try his hand at translation from the Dutch.

#### WILSON'S LIFE AND WORKS OF MICHAEL ANGELO.\*

THIS, the most recent of the very many Lives of Michael Angelo, is, we are inclined to think, notwithstanding its merits, rather a mistake. More than a dozen biographies or detailed notices of the great Tuscan artist, from Vasari to Professor Grimm, are on our bookshelves, and it would have seemed to us almost a work of supererogation to recount for more than the hundredth time incidents accessible to every schoolboy. And, when we turn to this carefully compiled volume, the old materials gain little from the author's treatment. We lack the vivid narrative of Vasari, the literary skill of Duppa, the penetrating and poetic insight of Grimm, and the eloquence of Fuseli. But Mr. Wilson's reflections and

criticisms have at any rate the advantage of being innocuous. Take as a fair example the harmless paragraph which opens the second chapter as follows:—

Michael Angelo saw Rome for the first time on the twenty-fifth of June, 1496. With what eager anticipations must he have passed under the archway, probably of the ancient Porta del Popolo, and gazed on the diverging streets leading to different quarters of the city!

Various circumstances concurred towards producing this exhaustive biography. Mr. Wilson had for many years been accumulating materials for the work, when the Florentine festival in commemoration of the fourth centenary of Michael Angelo's birth not only excited public interest in the subject, but put the world in possession of letters and documents which for years had been strictly guarded as a sealed book. Mr. Harford and Herr Grimm in vain waited for inspiration from these sibylline leaves; the municipal authorities who had received them by bequest from Cosimo Buonarroti reserved their publication for the festival. They were printed under the editorship of Cav. Gaetano Milanese; and Commendatore Gotti, taking advantage of these new materials, wrote a fresh Life, intending to use Vasari's narrative for the foundation. These several works have been for some time before the public, and speak for themselves. Mr. Wilson's first idea was simply to translate into English Signor Gotti's Life; but we are almost ready to pardon him for the temerity of rushing into print on his own account whenever we come upon experiences and local facts which are specially his own. Although not quite of the Titanic order of Michaelangelesque intellect, he still can show qualifications for his undertaking. Years ago he became prominent in the then embryo scheme of Government Schools of Design; and, among the doings of Prince Albert's Fine Arts Commission, we have long been familiar with a lengthy and elaborate Report, dated 1843, by "Mr. O. H. Wilson," described as "Director of the Government School of Design at Somerset House." It is stated that "Her Majesty's Commissioners on the Fine Arts instructed him to proceed to the Continent to collect information relating to the objects of the Commission." The investigations which were directed to the processes of mural painting remain of value to the present day. Mr. Wilson has for some years past resided in Florence, and he is also well acquainted with Rome; hence his fitness in some degree to undertake the arduous task of which he acquires himself fairly well.

The foregoing statement may indicate why at the outset we suggested that this closely packed compilation is not the thing best suited to the occasion. The volume can scarcely take the position of the standard or final biography of the great sculptor, architect, and painter of the Italian Renaissance. The work, after all, is short of completeness; we have searched in vain for mention of the drawings in Oxford or those in the possession of Mr. Malcolm, severally catalogued by Mr. J. C. Robinson. Moreover, the volume is absolutely without an index. Other writers, under the stimulus of recently published documents, will doubtless enter the field and supply these deficiencies. Yet Mr. Wilson, had he chosen more wisely, had he assumed that others know nearly as much of Vasari and Condivi as he does, might, by virtue of his artistic training and local experience, have produced a monograph which would of necessity find a place in every art library in England, not to say in Europe. It is especially on turning to the pages which treat of the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel that we regret that Mr. Wilson does not use more abundantly the varied and valuable stores he has gathered as an artist and a student. His investigations into the processes and conditions of mural painting have extended over a period of a quarter of a century, and he now tells us that "before attempting to write an account of the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel," "a moveable scaffold fifty-four feet in height was erected, and that a rare opportunity was thus afforded of examining the magnificent and altogether unequalled frescoes of the vault." The remarkable results obtained, resting mainly on internal evidence, we can indicate only in brief. Mr. Wilson says, "There is no possibility of doubt that Michael Angelo provided full-size working drawings," and he calculates that for the ceiling "at least fifty-nine of these cartoons must have been prepared, besides the working drawings for the architectural decoration." The master's invention was boundless, "and evidently a great number of models carefully chosen were employed; there is not a single figure in this vast series of designs which has not been studied from nature. And that by far the greater portion of the frescoes were executed by Michael Angelo himself, there can be no doubt whatever"; but certain differences in handling which are still patent prove, if proof were needed on a point so self-evident, that assistants were called to aid, including "a practical decorator." The artist's mode of painting is described as follows:—

When the frescoes are closely examined with a desire of observing Michael Angelo's method of execution, attention is naturally directed in the first place to the undraped figures as the chief tests of the artist's powers. It is apparent that the following was the mode of painting. The local colour was laid on, and modelled and softened into the cool shadow with that perfect knowledge of form and truth of gradation habitual to Michael Angelo, and observable in all his drawings. The lights were then painted with a full brush, and softened into the half tints. It might be thought that the vigorous draughtsman, with some tendency to exaggeration of form, might exhibit a similar disposition in the use of the brush, but he painted in the soft Tuscan manner so much in contrast with his forcible drawing. The lights being completed as described, the darker parts of the shadows were added; but no tints resulting from the colours of surrounding objects were introduced into the reflections, or anything that might impair the simplicity of the monumental style and breadth of execution.

\* *Life and Works of Michael Angelo Buonarroti*. By Charles Heath Wilson. The Life partly compiled from that by the Commend. Aurelio Gotti, Director of the Royal Galleries of Florence. London: Murray. 1876.



Close examination of these "frescoes" reveals retouchings "a secco"; in other words, "l'ultima mano" of the master added to the dry surface details and finishing touches in pigments mixed with size. This conjecture or discovery is substantiated by the fact that the superimposed "colour readily melts on being touched with a wet finger." Especially are backgrounds and accessories thus treated, and sometimes size without any admixture of colour is passed over an entire figure to add to its strength, "precisely as the force of water-colour drawings may be increased by washes of gum." It is added that "there can be no doubt that nearly all this work is contemporary, and in one part only is there evidence of a later and incapable hand."

Michael Angelo, like Raffaele, painted in fresco with almost incredible ease and celerity; a result of knowledge and natural aptitude which contrasts strikingly with the inefficiency and failure of our English practitioners of the art. Mr. Maclean, one of the best qualified among these, calls fresco an intolerable process, the triumph of the mason and the plasterer, the torture of the painter; whereas Italian practitioners went on their way rejoicing. Thus "Michael Angelo could paint a nude figure considerably above life size in two working days, the workmanship being perfect in every part. The colossal nude figures of young men on the cornice of the vault at most occupied four days each." And the reclining figure of Adam, about ten feet in stature, one of the grandest of conceptions in all time, was apparently painted in three days. The lines of juncture in the intonaco or mortar—lines which may be deciphered even in photographs—indicating where one day's work ended and the next began, show that a day was given to the head, a second to the torso, and a third to the lower extremities. Yet, notwithstanding this almost unexampled facility, Mr. Wilson, on general considerations, corroborated by reckonings of each day's work recorded in diurnal demarcations still subsisting on the plaster, is of opinion that the ceiling which, according to Vasari, was struck off in the incredibly short period of twenty months, occupied no less than four years. Michael Angelo is known to have been impulsive and passionate to extreme; roused to extraordinary exertion, he worked for weeks together without intermission; then he rested for a while, reading his favourite authors and fortifying his mind, which never lay fallow, to renewed effort.

The present state of the ceiling is worse than is generally suspected; even the Arundel Society comes too late to the rescue, though known to possess a peculiar felicity in reproducing what is wholly destroyed. Mr. Wilson states that not two square inches of the painted vault are without a crack; nevertheless, as far as can be ascertained, the plaster remains "solid and hard, and would bear cleaning." But some parts have actually fallen down; thus, "one of the young men sitting on the cornice has disappeared and been rudely replastered." Yet the worst remains to be told; in fact, the greatest extant work of painting is also the greatest existing example of barbarous maltreatment and neglect:—

The ceiling has at one time been washed by labouring men with water in which a caustic was mixed. Thus great brushes or sponges have been swept over the skies and backgrounds, and have not only removed the dirt in a coarse unequal way, but have eaten into the colours and destroyed them in a variety of places. The face, shoulder, and arm of the Prophet Daniel, various parts of the bodies and limbs of the young men sitting over the cornice, and other portions of the frescoes, have been nearly obliterated by this savage proceeding. The injury done is irreparable, for the surface of Michael Angelo's work has been swept away.

Many fresh and valuable gleanings, especially in the way of correspondence, might be gathered from these pages. Incidents are given as to the finding of the "Cupid" now in the South Kensington Museum, and also concerning the newly-discovered figure of St. John. Incredulity is certainly not among the author's critical faults. The illustrations executed in Italy have the merit of being useful rather than ornamental; thus, specially instructive is the plate of "St. Peter's in progress in the time of Michael Angelo," showing the dome in course of construction; and so likewise is a drawing from the figure of Adam in the Sistine ceiling, displaying the marks on the mortar made by the stylus, and the joinings defining the boundaries of each day's work. The new correspondence published from the Buonarroti archives is, we need not say, most important; the series here begins with a letter addressed by Michael Angelo at the age of two-and-twenty to his father. Like the letters in the British Museum, it has nobility and tenderness, but is touched by an abiding melancholy. The father asks for money; the son pleads:—

Do not wonder if I have sometimes expressed myself impatiently; I have at times, for many reasons, much provocation, such as may happen to those absent from home. I undertook to make a statue of Piero de' Medici, and I bought the marble, which however I did not commence because he was faithless to his promises, consequently I am making a figure on my own account. I purchased a piece of marble for five ducats, which proved bad, so I lost the money, and I bought another at five ducats, and this is on my own account. Thus you may believe that I also have my expenses and hard work; but that which you ask of me I shall send, should I sell myself as a slave.

We were told when in Florence of a project for opening the tomb of Michael Angelo in Sta. Croce. It may be remembered that nearly half a century ago the tomb of Raffaele in the Pantheon was opened with great ceremony, in the presence of Overbeck and others. The ashes of the Tuscan sculptor, architect, and painter appear to have been allowed to rest in peace; but, by way of sensation, the mausoleum of his patrons, the Medici, was required to give up

its dead. Mr. Wilson, in an appendix, relates the circumstances attending the "opening and examination of the sarcophagus under the statue of Lorenzo, by Michael Angelo, in the Medici Chapel." Two bodies were discovered—one in white, the other in black—embalmed, yet the flesh was gone; a sketch—from memory, we presume—is here given of the one "clad in a white linen tunic, trimmed with white lace, the drawers also being white." The skull retained its teeth white and perfect; it bore a shallow velvet cap of a brown colour, with curly reddish locks beneath. The body in black was that of Lorenzo Duke of Urbino, who died in 1519; the one in white was that of his reputed son, Alexander L, Duke of Florence, assassinated in 1536. The circumstances attending the exhumation seem to have been most disgraceful; the bodies were in about a quarter of an hour torn to fragments; the lace dragged from the dresses was appropriated by the bystanders; even teeth were carried away. Thus the identity of the bodies had been destroyed before any satisfactory examination could be made, save of the skulls, and the remains, after being thus robbed and mutilated, were flung back into the sarcophagus by the workmen in a confused mass of bones. Such is the reverence shown by Florentines to their illustrious ancestors!

It has recently been the misfortune of Michael Angelo to fall into the hands of Mr. Ruskin; and a more dire calamity could scarcely come upon a man of genius. The Slade Professor, having in past years done all in his power to disparage Raffaele, now sets himself to denounce Michael Angelo; these two great contemporaries he has been pleased to designate as "the leading athletes in the gymnasium of the arts." He is understood also to complain that he has himself wasted ten years of his life in the hopeless study of the giant Tuscan, who, according to him, "was proud, yet not proud enough to be at peace; melancholy, yet not deeply enough to be raised above petty pain; and strong beyond all his companion workmen, yet never strong enough to command his temper or limit his aims." Mr. Ruskin has no more exquisite delight than in setting himself in antagonism to the best authorities in all nations and ages. Fortunately it were easy, if needful, to sustain by a host of witnesses the great reputation here assailed. Happily, too, one Slade Professor feels it his duty to refute the teachings of his fellow Professor; Mr. Poynter, at University College, London, in a lecture to his class, which we hope he will publish, took up arms in defence of Michael Angelo against Mr. Ruskin, his brother Professor at Oxford. But perhaps Mr. Wilson, who in his entire volume does not once name the author of *Modern Painters*, adopts the wiser course in passing over in silence vagaries and vacillations of criticism which, being destitute of historic basis, carry little weight save among a partial coterie.

#### MARTIN'S HISTORY OF LLOYD'S.\*

IT may be thought strange that no one has anticipated Mr. Frederick Martin in writing a history of Marine Insurance, and tracing the origin and development of a branch of enterprise which has had so large a share in maintaining and steady the commercial supremacy of Great Britain, based as that supremacy has been and must be upon the security of maritime adventure. That the legal aspect of the subject has received abundant attention is indeed sufficiently attested by a glance at the shelves of any law library or the catalogue of any law bookseller. Nor has the commercial bearing or the economical utility of a well-organized system of insurance as applied to shipping and floating cargoes been overlooked by writers on the economy of trade. But, though there are ample materials for the purpose, no one till now has attempted to treat the subject in an historical and systematic manner. Mr. Martin has evidently spared no pains in collecting information, and his style of writing, though without any special literary grace, is clear and sensible.

Of the remote beginning of marine insurance we know as little as of the actual beginnings of most human arts, industries, or callings. The probability is that the provision against sea risk in some form or other, however different from the methods now in use, dates back to very high antiquity, and is coeval with maritime enterprise itself. There are proofs that Phœnician, Greek, and Roman merchants and shipmasters were in the habit of guarding themselves against loss by sea, whether by loans or by the method of mutual guarantee. Probably the most ancient and customary form of this kind of loan or bond was that still known and practised under the name of "bottomry." This means the mortgage of the hull, or bottom, of a ship in such a manner that, if the ship be lost, the lender loses to the insuring owner the money he has advanced on her; whereas, if she comes safely to port, he not only gets back the amount of the loan, but receives in addition a certain stipulated amount of interest or premium. Out of this practice in all likelihood was developed the existing system of insurance; one reason for its widespread prevalence being the extreme simplicity of the transaction, another being the desire to escape the stringency of the laws against usury. The legislation of the Western nations of Europe in restraint of usury was, it is well known, intensified in severity by the influence of the Church, acting upon the misinterpretation of

\* *The History of Lloyd's, and of Marine Insurance in Great Britain. With an Appendix containing Statistics relating to Marine Insurance. By Frederick Martin, Author of "The Statesman's Year Book."* London: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

sundry texts of Scripture, and declaring all money-lending to be utterly sinful, and to come under the arm of secular as well as of ecclesiastical justice. An edict of Justinian, A.D. 533, reduced the legal rate of interest to six per cent., with a special exemption in favour of *fenus nauticum*, or bottomry, which was permitted to be at the rate of twelve per cent., on the ground of its being not a mere lending of money, but an adventure involving the risks of the sea. How far the practice of bottomry loans—differing from the modern form of marine policy in being compensations in advance of the actual loss of a ship, instead of compensations after the loss has taken place—entered into the commercial systems of the middle ages in Italy or the Mediterranean States, it seems difficult to trace. Mr. Martin's researches have failed to bring to light any record of bottomry, or marine insurance of any kind, among the early maritime laws of Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, or other nations of Latin race. Nor is any trace of the kind supplied by the Laws of Oléron. Mr. Martin seems a little puzzled by this remarkable code, which he calls the Laws of Layron. The main uncertainty about them is whether they were so named from having been promulgated by Richard I. at Oléron, while touching near the mouth of the Garonne on his way home from the Holy Land, or from having already from early times prevailed in the island, which afterwards passed into the possession of the English crown on the marriage of Henry III. with Eleanor, daughter of William, Duke of Guienne. The same silence as to marine insurance is kept by the *Consolato del Mare*, a curious compilation, apparently of Catalan origin, as old as the middle of the thirteenth century. It is in the sea code of the Northern nations that the usage is first met with in a definite form. In the Laws of Wisby we come for the first time upon the word "bottomry," from which we gather that the revival of marine insurance in the middle ages was due to that famous confederacy of merchants and traders, mostly of Teutonic nationality, which was known as the Hanseatic League. Wisby, now reduced to insignificance, but then a flourishing port on the western coast of the Isle of Gothland in the Baltic, and one of the chief staples of the great League, gave its name to this maritime code, which was supplemented by the various collections of ordinances known as the *Recessus Hanse*, *Recessus Civitatum Hanseaticarum*. These sea rules or institutes, decreed at the general meetings of the League, mostly held at Lübeck, the nominal head of the great confederacy, speak throughout of bottomry, *Bodemerey*, as an important department of maritime commerce. A whole chapter in an early *Recessus* is taken up with the subject of insurance frauds, anticipating in the severity of its denunciations the malpractices and crimes so vehemently attacked by Mr. Plimsoll:—

"Whereas," says the first paragraph of the sixth chapter of the "Recessus" referred to, "there occur every day more deceptions as regards Bottomry, and there is not wanting even discovery of wicked crimes, it is ordered that henceforth masters of vessels shall have no power to raise money on Bottomry at the place where the freighters reside, in order that the free parts of the ship may not be burthened with charges resting on those that are engaged. And in case masters wish to raise money on Bottomry upon parts belonging to them, it must be with the knowledge of the freighters, at the place where they live, and only to the extent of their interest. Should anybody lend more than this, he who has advanced the money shall only have a claim on the master's property and not on the ship, and the master, if necessary, shall be punished." An exception to this rule is made in the second paragraph of the same chapter, which gives permission to masters of vessels to get Bottomry loans in foreign countries under certain circumstances, when they have met with accidents and have no goods to dispose of, nor any other means of raising the money requisite for repairing the damages incurred. In this case they were allowed to incur Bottomry loans for just as much as they required, and no more. By the third paragraph of the same chapter, it was ordered that the master of a vessel raising Bottomry loans in foreign countries, in a fraudulent manner, shall not only be answerable with all his property, but may incur the penalty of imprisonment, and even death. It will be seen from these rules, specimens of many others, that marine insurance, in the form of Bottomry, was widely known and practised by the merchants of the Hanseatic League.

The word "insurance," Mr. Martin writes—but without giving the word in the original language—occurs for the first time in the old historical work called the *Chronyk van Vlaenderen*, which refers distinctly to the existence of marine insurance as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century at Bruges, one of the great marts and chief staples of the Hanseatic League. So vast was the commerce of Bruges at that time that there frequently arrived, writes the author of *Annales Flandriae*, a hundred and fifty vessels in a single tide in the port of Sluys, the outer harbour of Bruges. On the demand of the inhabitants of Bruges, the Count of Flanders permitted in the year 1310 the establishment in that town of a Chamber of Assurance, by means of which merchants could insure their goods exposed to the risks of the sea, or elsewhere, on paying a stipulated percentage. Divers laws and regulations were at the same time laid down for the observance both of assurers and assured. In that London of five hundred years ago the modern system of marine insurance may in strictness be said to have had its birth. But it had long before been practised amongst the Flemish colony known as the merchants of the Steelyard, who had from the time of Edward the Confessor held a settlement on the banks of the Thames, where now the trains of the South-Eastern Railway run into Cannon Street. Known originally, till the time of Edward IV., by the name of Gilhalds Teutonicorum, subsequently changed to that of Staelhof, a contraction of Stapelhof, or staple-house, this remarkable house or store of the Flemings in England, with its branches at Boston and Lynn,

formed the great medium of commerce with Northern Europe. There were stored the vast and multifarious collections of raw produce or manufactures which England sent to foreign countries—in the words of Stow, "wheat, rye, and other grain, cables, ropes, masts, pitch, tar, flax, hemp, linen cloth, waincots, wax, steel, and other profitable merchandises," together with the foreign commodities imported in exchange. A queer monastic body—no inmate of the Steelyard being permitted to bring a wife or other woman within the precincts, and all having to be within the gates between fixed hours morning and evening, and taking their meals in common—this singular guild of traders, twelve in number, including a master, held privileges abroad under the Empire, and in this country under royal grants from Æthelred II. to Edward VI. The jealousy of the native merchants which was thus provoked having led to manifold controversies and not a few riots, an end was put to the association by the policy of Burleigh, supported by Gresham. A decree of the Privy Council declared its privileges null and void, and on the last day of February 1597 the gates of the Steelyard closed upon it for ever. Its best legacy was the practice which in five years' time received Parliamentary sanction in an "Act concerning matters of assurances amongst merchants." Such was the germ of national legislation upon this important subject.

That insurance against marine risk had also been practised from early times by the foreign merchants who gave their name to Lombard Street is shown by Mr. Martin, who has brought together numerous additional illustrations from the records of more than one of the leading cities and business marts of Italy and Spain. The intense stimulus to native enterprise and energy which marked the reign of Elizabeth put an end to the ascendancy of the Lombards in London, concurrently with that of the Hanseatic traders. Yet they left their mark in the settled principles and rules elaborated by the shrewd merchant legislators of Florence and Pisa, Barcelona and Venice. If the Hanseatics were the first to introduce marine insurance into this country, to the Lombards belongs the credit of bringing it into general use, and making it acceptable to the trading community at large. From the Italian tongue came the name itself, or, as it was originally called, "assurance." So also did the word "policy," from the Italian *polizza*, a promissory note or bill; and it might even be well to spell it "pollicy," to keep it distinct from an entirely different word, and to mark its connexion with the Latin *pollicitum*. The very form of draft now in use points back to the usage of that time and nation. Every policy till of late began with the words "In the name of God, amen," in imitation of the pious Italian form "Dio la salve. Amen." The first patent in England for making and registering policies and instruments of assurance was granted to Richard Candler and his deputies under the Great Seal in 1574, when it was stoutly opposed by the notaries and brokers, who till then had included this among their various kinds of business. Of the form and principles under which insurance was practised about that period in France as well as in England, a good idea may be obtained from the *Guidon de la Mer*, of unknown authorship, assigned by Pardessus and all the best authorities to Rouen between the years 1590 and 1600. In this work references to English usage abound. The earliest English policy actually known has been disinterred among the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian; the reward, it would appear, of the industry of our author himself, who gives the original text at length. It is between Mr. Morris Abbott and Mr. Devereux Wogan upon a voyage of the ship *Tiger* to "Zante, Petrasse and Saphalonía," signed February 15, 1613. Another curious document from the same library, dated October 16, 1654, shows the wide dispersion of underwriters over London, giving the various amounts of risks or premiums taken by them on a ship called the *Naples*, belonging to Thomas Griffith, in the same year. About this time, the coffee-houses rapidly springing up in London became centres of this kind of business, the earliest known house for the sale of the new drink, then called "kauphy," having been opened in St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill, by one Bowman, coachman to Mr. Hodges, a Turkish merchant, in 1652. Among the first establishments of the kind we find in advertisements the name of Harris, in 1675, followed by those of Garraway and Thomas Good. The earliest notice of Lloyd's is in the *London Gazette* of February 18-21, 1688. The founder of the now world-famous corporation, Edward Lloyd, had then his establishment in Tower Street, whence he removed in 1692 or thereabouts to Lombard Street, the fact of the extensive seafaring connexion brought him by the foreign merchants and shipmasters frequenting the first-named quarter having doubtless led to his forming and keeping up the practice of marine insurance.

Having brought his readers to the foundation of that important body whose operations he set himself to chronicle, Mr. Martin proceeds to trace its gradual development as the central seat of business connected with the shipping interest. The period of this ascendancy is marked by the establishment of *Lloyd's List*, which, with the equally well-known *Lloyd's News*, survives to testify to the enterprise, energy, and ability of the founder. There were not long lacking rivals in the tempting field of marine insurance, two of the earliest of which still exist and flourish—the London Assurance Corporation and the Royal Exchange Assurance Corporation. Not until June 1720, after indefatigable opposition from the body of underwriters, those of Lloyd's at their head, did those important bodies succeed in procuring their charters of incorporation. How the practical monopoly long kept up yielded by degrees to the vast extension of marine business



which belongs to our own day forms the subject of our author's later pages, where the statistics he has brought together are of much value, telling as they do a chequered tale of the formation and fortunes, the range of business, and the dividends paid or capital lost, of a long roll of similar Companies. After following Lloyd's, as his theme of leading interest, through its migration to the Royal Exchange, and its re-organization in the year 1811, Mr. Martin devotes his last chapter to the present constitution and management of the corporation, dwelling in particular upon the admirable organization of its intelligence department, which, attaining to higher and higher perfection with the development of science and enterprise, has virtually made Lloyd's the focus and centre of the world's sea-borne trade and commerce. Additional interest is given to the narrative by the classification of sea risks, the statistics of losses by wreck or collision, and the tables of approximate average premium and return per cent. upon liability for marine insurance, skilfully reduced to diagrams, which appear in the appendix.

#### SOUTH AUSTRALIA.\*

THE five provinces of Australia, not to speak of Tasmania and New Zealand, occupy or claim twice as much territory as the whole Indian Empire, which has a hundred times their population. But the two million English inhabitants of our Southern colonies will one day become a new English nation, while the vast and motley Asiatic dominions of Queen Victoria have only an official and mercantile connexion with England. It is conceivable that in a future age, with altered political relations and perhaps a decline of emigration to Australia, when the supply and demand both of capital and labour shall have met their due balance in the still vacant land, our great-grandchildren may feel less personal interest in its affairs. For the present, however, while almost every family here has some of its kindred or friends settled on those far shores of the South Pacific, the progress of their young commonwealths seems a domestic concern to us. Journalism in London would probably give more of its attention to this subject than it does but for the perplexing division of Australia into so many independent colonies; and in the case of New Zealand there is also a striking diversity of interests among the several provinces, which are, however, about to be merged in a new centralized Government. It is not easy for the ordinary newspaper reader to bear in mind whether a discussion of tariffs or land laws, the statistics of wool, wheat, and gold, the exemplary wealth of fortunate squatters, or the enterprise and fortitude of inland explorers, relate to one Australian province or another. This is apt to make the comprehension and recollection of such topics rather confused, as they are brought before us in separate reports from different colonial centres of intelligence and social activity. The remedy will be found some day in a confederation of neighbouring colonies, on a footing more or less similar to that of the Dominion of Canada; but no good would be done by a premature effort to force on this natural result of their position, which cannot escape the notice of the colonists themselves at the most convenient time. We are content meanwhile to study the condition and prospects of each self-governed province, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, or South Australia, from the testimony of its own residents, visitors, or official writers. The volume now before us comes from Adelaide with semi-official authority, having been compiled by Mr. Marcus and his scientific assistants for the Commissioners sending the South Australian sample products to the American Exhibition. We received a few years ago from Melbourne and from Sydney, upon a similar occasion, equally complete and authentic descriptions of the two provinces of Victoria and New South Wales. The accounts were furnished in each instance by resident official and professional men possessing special knowledge of the subjects with which they dealt. We now gladly welcome a picture of material prosperity, and of an orderly and comfortable, as well as vigorous, growth of society, in what ought perhaps to be called Middle Australia; for the name of "South Australia," as has often been remarked, seems most inappropriate to a territory which lies north-west of Melbourne and extends northward to within twelve degrees of the equator.

This colony is in the fortieth year of its age; but the history of its establishment differs from that of Victoria and of Queensland, as it was never part of the older colony of New South Wales. Nor has it ever been a penal settlement, like New South Wales. It was founded, like the Wellington, Nelson, and Canterbury provinces of New Zealand, by joint-stock experimentalists on the plan of Mr. Gibbon Wakefield for importing labour in a fixed proportion to the sales of land at a price of not less than twenty shillings an acre. The system has been modified by devoting part of the land revenues to the construction of roads and railways, as well as to paying the cost of assisted emigration from Europe; but it has, on the whole, produced beneficial results. In every community which has grown to the stature qualifying it for self-government, it becomes a question ultimately for the people to decide how long they need continue to apply a share of the public estate to fostering an artificial increase of population. In some colonies it has ceased to be needful. The several Legislatures of Australia

have from time to time adopted different measures with regard to this matter, and with different objects in view, as they were more or less actuated by a wish to consult the supposed interests of capital or those of the labouring class. No colony has strictly adhered to the rules of Mr. Gibbon Wakefield; but the necessity of some regulations at the outset, to keep up a tolerable adjustment of the labour supply to the appropriation of land, has been admitted everywhere. Both in the conditions prescribed for land purchase, and in the assistance offered to labouring emigrants from Great Britain, changes have frequently been made, sometimes in consequence of accidental and temporary circumstances, as when it was found that people brought into one province were tempted to pass on into another. South Australia, after discontinuing for some years the importation of labour at the public cost, has recently taken it up again, and will spend 120,000*l.* for that purpose this year. New Zealand and Queensland show far more determination to get as many industrial recruits as they can; while the other colonies, from their social and political circumstances, are disinclined to any such effort. There are considerable differences also in the provincial land-laws, which have undergone a variety of alterations. The general aim has been to secure for any *bonâ fide* agricultural settler the opportunity of selecting a moderate-sized piece, not above one square mile, and paying for it not less than one pound an acre in a few yearly instalments, with interest on the portion left unpaid. In South Australia, we are told, the arrangement has been most successful, and the agricultural prosperity of that province is indeed remarkable. Amendments are now proposed in its land-laws; one is to prevent the price being run up, at auctions on Government account, beyond twenty shillings an acre, but allowing rival bidders to compete in their offers of yearly rent; another, to enlarge the limit of a single purchase from 640 acres to 1,000 acres; but these changes have not yet been enacted. There are some estates of vast size, exceeding 50,000 acres, the property of wealthy sheepowners who have bought their pasture-runs with the money they gained by profitable "squattling" there. Mr. Marcus thinks this an unfortunate transaction for the colony; but we find no cause for regret in his account of the management of Mr. C. B. Fisher's fine estate at Hill River, employing from seventy to two hundred people, shearing fifty thousand fleeces, and reaping four thousand acres of wheat, by the skilful use of a large capital. It is acknowledged that the best economy of South Australian agriculture, which ought to combine stock-keeping with corn-growing, requires not less than one thousand acres in hand. The ordinary method of husbandry is very simple. No rotation of crops is thought needful; the soil is merely scratched three or four inches deep with the plough, and the seed is cast in, year after year, with expectation of a crop that may be twelve bushels to the acre. It costs very little, as the reaping and threshing are done simultaneously by Ridley's four-horse machine driven over the field, which is rendered possible in that climate by the perfect dryness of the grain at harvest time. Other Australian provinces, and likewise New Zealand, are without this peculiar advantage, so that their wheat at a low price will scarcely pay the cost of threshing. The wheat and flour of South Australia are known at Mark Lane to be the finest in the world; and this province helps to feed its neighbours, exporting breadstuffs to the value of a million and three-quarters sterling. It has also six millions of sheep, and exports wool to about the same value, which, indeed, is far surpassed by the other provinces.

Turning from the agricultural and pastoral to the mineral resources of South Australia, we observe that it lacks the gold in which the eastern parts of that huge island-continent are so rich; but some has been found in the remote northern territory. Copper is the chief metallic treasure of this province, ranking next to wheat and wool in its export trade; and the mines of Kapunda, Burra-Burra, Wallaroo, and Moonta, have successively astonished speculators. Their shareholders, in more than one instance, have divided profits to the amount of nearly a million sterling in the course of fifteen or twenty years. Iron has not been worked to advantage, as there is no coal; and we believe, on the whole, that Queensland and New South Wales are superior to South Australia in mineral wealth, taking no account of their gold. But there is a district of wonderful promise north of Port Augusta, at the head of Spencer Gulf, which seems likely to yield an immense amount of valuable metals. No great development of manufacturing industry can be looked for in the absence of coal, the possession of which may hereafter give New South Wales an established supremacy in the Australasian world.

The recent acquisition by South Australia, since McDouall Stuart's overland explorations completed in 1862, of an immense territory extending to the northern sea-coast between the Gulf of Carpentaria and Cambridge Gulf, has not yet been successfully utilized to any great extent for colonization. Its settlement was retarded by administrative mistakes which have led to much disappointment and financial loss, but they are now in a fair way to be retrieved. Port Darwin, with its promised town of Palmerston, will obtain some commercial importance from the increasing traffic between the East Indies, the Malay Archipelago, and the Australasian colonies. If this traffic should present suitable facilities for the introduction of coolie labour, it may enable the culture of some tropical produce to be carried on in the northern districts of Australia, perhaps as well as in Ceylon, Mauritius, or the West Indies; but the notion is still problematical. The climate of Port Darwin is extremely diffe-

\* *South Australia: its History, Resources, and Productions.* Edited by William Marcus, Esq., J.P. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1875.

rent from that of Adelaide, Sydney, or Melbourne, having a regular wet season from October to April, when the air is saturated with moisture by the North-West monsoon. Mr. J. A. G. Little, chief officer of the postal and telegraphic service there, says that he feels this damp, hot weather "not nearly so unpleasant or severe as the dry heat in the southern portion of Australia during the same months." But his official superior, Mr. C. Todd, head of the same department at Adelaide, and Government Astronomer, holds that the extreme dryness of the south, with a temperature sometimes fifteen or twenty degrees higher, is much more endurable. Men will play cricket or ride fifty miles with the thermometer at 100 degrees in the shade, and will experience no discomfort. It is only the lazy who suffer from the heat; for a little exertion makes one perspire, which brings instantaneous relief where the dry air takes off the perspiration at once. These apparently conflicting opinions are easily reconciled by the supposition that Mr. Little, instead of riding or playing cricket, had been sitting quiet and inhaling the moist sea-breeze when he took note of his sensations. The climate of no part of Australia is at all unhealthy, but its seasons have their trying moments, and young children born in England are sometimes unable to bear them. For persons of consumptive tendencies the air of South Australia is probably as good as can be breathed anywhere in the world, and is not unlikely to effect a thorough cure.

The attractions of Adelaide, a city of thirty thousand souls, pleasantly situated between the Mount Lofty range and the sea, are highly commended by its visitors. The public buildings, the Town Hall, the Post Office, and the unfinished Cathedral would do no discredit to any provincial capital in England; the Botanic Gardens, under the direction of Dr. R. Schomburgk, are not less beautiful than well arranged for scientific instruction. Many views of these and other places or edifices in the neighbourhood, copied by the engraver from the work of local photographers, are interwoven with the statistical chapters of this volume. The impression left on the reader's mind is that, simply as a residence, Adelaide must be a rather more agreeable city than Melbourne, and perhaps also than Sydney. Social life is quieter, there is less bustle and hurry, less vulgar display of newly-won riches, than in the chief towns of the gold-producing colonies. The tone of South Australian politics is tolerably free from the influence of demagogues and tricksters. Parliament consists of a Legislative Council, elected by the owners and occupiers of property, its eighteen members sitting for twelve years, but one-third of them retiring or needing re-election every four years; and a House of Assembly, numbering forty-six, elected by universal suffrage. The members are unpaid, and Mr. Marcus assures us that, in a Parliamentary history of twenty years, there has never been a whisper of corruption against any one of them. In this as in other colonial Governments, the brief duration of Ministries, which is usually not longer than a year and a half or two years, must seem objectionable to the distant observer. It is ascribed by Mr. Marcus to the absence of coherent and abiding party interests, which leaves only the rivalry of mere personal pretensions to dispute the tenure of office. Some good and useful legislation has been accomplished, an example of which is given in the convenient system of land registration and transfer carried by Sir Richard Torrens, and since adopted by the other Australian provinces. Popular education and public works of utility, such as railways and telegraphs, have been dealt with in a very liberal spirit. By an Act of last session the colonial Government undertakes to build and endow schools, and to pay the teachers, for the entire population; but moderate school fees are to be charged. The University of Adelaide, now preparing to begin its work, has been founded by the munificence of private donors, Mr. W. W. Hughes and Mr. Thomas Elder giving each 20,000*l.*, but it also receives a grant from the State. Every municipality, town council, or rural district council is assisted by the Government at Adelaide with a grant equal to its own provision, by local rates, for the roads and for other needful purposes. While the State is able to do so much in domestic affairs, it has not yet incurred any expenditure whatever for military defences, having neither fortifications, nor militia, nor the very smallest naval force; there is not even a corps of South Australian volunteers. With this exemption from some of the heaviest public burdens of an independent community, it was natural that the prosperous young State should achieve something great of another kind. It has constructed the overland telegraph to Port Darwin, by which, in connexion with the submarine line from Java and Singapore, all the British colonies in Australasia, including New Zealand, were put in communication with London. The bold enterprise of fixing posts and wires across a wilderness of eighteen hundred miles was a creditable feat to be performed by colonial Government officials. They are now preparing to lay another telegraph, under similar conditions, along the desolate coast of the Great Southern Bight, to meet a West Australian line. Three or four hundred miles of railway between the chief towns, the ports, and mining districts of the province, have been made and opened for traffic. Other schemes are in progress for tapping the inland stream of inter-colonial trade along the great navigable river Murray, which flows between Victoria and New South Wales. The fertile and well-watered district called Riverina, which lies north of the Murray, traversed also by the Murrumbidgee, the Darling, and their tributaries, belongs to the older province. But Victoria has contrived, and South Australia will attempt, to carry off a large share of its produce. This is to be effected in one of two ways—

either by a railway from Kapunda, north-east of Adelaide, to the nearest bend of the river; or by opening the mouth of the river to the sea, cutting through the barrier of sand-hills that shuts up Lake Alexandrina from the Southern Ocean. English faculties of self-government are satisfactorily proved by the accomplishment of such works as these among a people as yet hardly exceeding in numbers a single parish of London.

#### A MADRIGAL.\*

THE author of *The Rose Garden* is not improving in her work. She is always graceful, pretty, and pure, but she is becoming diffuse; and at times she lets herself drift into unmistakable maudering. She is learning silly tricks of style too, and interlards her pages with that silliest trick of all, "I think," "I know," "I suppose," which has crept into use among certain writers, as if they had been bystanders assisting at the events whereof they write. And what does she mean in sober, common-sense English by such a sentence as "Under the dark ilexes of the Villa Medici, bright cyclamen grew up, and nodded softly as the breeze touched them, for the violets were gone, and had left them their secrets to keep"? And, again, is not such a conceit as this—"With a sudden access of shame she sprang from her seat, and ran again, higher up, where he should not find her, and only the Alpen-rosen and the fragrant fir-trees should look at her with kind and pitying eyes"—a little too far-fetched for a possible story of real life? In *La Motte Fouqué*, or Hoffmann, or in one of Andersen's tales, it would have done well enough; but in "Under the Mountains" it is an affectation on a par with that of the secrets which the violets had left to the cyclamen to keep under the ilexes of the Villa Medici.

It is a pleasanter task to turn to the good points of this little book. Though the tales are short, there is a certain colour about them which lifts them above the ordinary run of magazine stories, and gives them a claim to more consideration than is usually accorded to mere sketches. The "Madrigal," which heads the series and gives a name to the book, is a quaint and charming prose-poem of the last century, though not in the least like the manners of the time when the scene is laid; setting forth the loves of the well-born and rich Sir Jasper Harrington and brown-haired Dorothy Flemmyng, the schoolmaster's pretty little daughter. Of course there is the inevitable lady mother, who, proud and stern, holds by "family" as a more substantial good than the thing which boys and girls call love; and who comes in with her inflexible command of separation, chiefly to give the lovers an opportunity for showing their faith and courage, and to prepare the way for the happy accident which is to soften her heart and cause her to renounce her opposition. There is naturally no room for development of character, or anything like intricacy of plot, in a story of the dimensions of the "Madrigal." The whole interest depends on the force and clearness with which the characters are sketched in, and on the strength of the leading situation. We will let Dorothy speak for herself:—

I see Dorothy Flemmyng, with her bright flashing sunny face, with her soft dress of dainty muslin, with her little delicious old-fashioned great-grandmotherly air, flying out of the garden door to meet her father.

Young Sir Jasper Harrington always would have it that she was like a robin, and perhaps he could not have found an apter similitude, there was something so pretty, so confiding, and yet so spirited about the little thing. Every one was fond of her. Everything that was weak, or frightened, or hurt seemed to take refuge with her, and expect her to do battle for them. It was not a little ridiculous to imagine her your champion, and yet you might have had a worse. There was something in her daring which, from such a mite, was irresistible.

The portraits of Dorothy's father, and of her aunt, are also well done; and "the tall, gentle, listless people—unready would perhaps be the best word to use—yet with a certain sweet dignity, a transparent simplicity, and trustfulness as beautiful as a child's, and the shadow of a great trouble which they had shared together," though passive influences rather than active agents in the story, are beautiful in their own way. The mental failure of the aunt is tenderly touched. "Perhaps it was this which had brought a cloud, half piteous but altogether merciful, over Mrs. Harriet Foster's old age, like one of those soft autumnal mists which creep upward at the close of day, and soften but do not mar the landscape." And by this mental failure, and her father's total want of energy, perception, common sense, or fitness for the work that he had undertaken, we see the value of Dorothy's refusal to leave them entirely, even should the lady mother of Sir Jasper give her consent to such a mad alliance as her son proposes. The story ends well. The author is merciful, and does not harrow her readers with unnecessary tragedies, but turns a smiling face to them before she dismisses them. We object, however, to the pathos with which the death of Dick Rolston is surrounded, not as a matter of morality, but as a matter of art. It is beginning a figure as an animal and ending it as a man. Dick is so thoroughly disagreeable all through his little action in the drama, and with such a total absence of pleasant or heroic indications, that his death, which is made in a sense glorious and certainly sad, has an incongruity with what has gone before which may betoken kindly feeling on the part of the author, but tells against her sense of harmony as an artist.

\* *A Madrigal; and other Stories.* By the Author of "The Rose Garden," "A Winter Story," &c. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1876.



The next story, "Under the Mountains," is a pretty little Swiss idyl. It sets forth, as the main action, the change wrought in the mind of a spoilt, vain, sentimental young woman who, beloved by an honest lumbering soul whom she fancies she despises, wakes to her better self under the pressure of loss and danger combined, and learns that the faithful love of a good man is a better possession than the faculty of dreaming dreams which lead to nothing; that vague discontent with things as they are, and hysterical excitement of the nerves, are not the necessary results of genius or mental superiority; and that after all Christian Amrhein, with his strength and his courage, his directness and his unselfishness, is a far better man than she is a woman, though she can weave fancies which he cannot understand. Perhaps this is the best of the series; for, though very simple, it is stronger and even fuller of pleasant touches than the others. The young people have been for a holiday to Lucerne, where they hear the noble organ with its famous stop, the vox humana, and where Else Rothler, the heroine, goes into dreams and reveries which, when her betrothed, good stupid Christian, interrupts them, turn into girlish pettishness and scorn, after the manner of their kind. This sketch of their relations to each other is well given:—

He had hoped somehow that the music which had so delighted would have softened her to him, instead of raising this irritation. He did not, in truth, understand her temperament, but he never doubted its superiority, and he had taught Else by his homage to believe it too. A looker-on would have longed for something which should shake her into a true perception of the noble humility which raised him far above her. No such shock, however, had come; Christian Amrhein was in Else's eyes as good and as dear as if he had been her brother, and as stupid as the cows she milked morning and evening; but as her mother, Witwe Rothler, was very poor, and wanted him for a son-in-law, Else had consented to marry him. This she was persuaded would make him perfectly happy; while for herself—it is difficult to say what sort of an inner life she made out in her dreams. He had not much part in it, except as he was mixed up with the cattle and the dairy. Nevertheless, she expected him to be entirely content.

And the quiet way in which Christian looks at the inevitable consequences of a marriage between himself, adoring, and her, despising, is also well given:—

Never before had he been so conscious of a wall between himself and Else. Somehow or other, in the daily life of labour familiar to them both, it had not been so apparent. She was often vexed because, she said, he did not understand her, and he had been vexed with himself; but the little shadows came and went like the soft mists that curled round the mountain ridges opposite, and through them all he never lost sight of the quiet tranquil life that he believed to lie behind them. Now he began to doubt whether it might not be a land of storms after all—storms which would rend and sadden his bright quick-natured Else. Her happiness perhaps lay in a world where he could never join her: how could souls so separated ever unite? He thought of it sadly, without one tinge of bitterness; his serious sweet temper never resented her little fits of impatience, but with all the humility which accepted slights from her hand, he possessed also a solid common sense, which kept him from sinking into a false position. Else had consented to marry him, but if he were not clever enough for her to love, such a marriage should never be.

In consequence of this thought, he takes Else up a steep path into "a sort of fir-glade," where "the stream hurried and flung itself along, the fir-trees stood steadfastly up against a deep cloudless sky, the clear air was fragrant with the aromatic scent of pines, of mountain flowers, and young oak-ferns; high up they heard the tinkle of cow-bells, or a wild weird jodel echoing away among the hills," and here he tells her quietly that she is free, and that he does not intend to marry her, as much for his own sake as for hers:—

"Wait till thou hast only heard," he said, with a determination which had its influence: "it is right thou shouldst understand. What I said was not all unselfish. Else, it was not only to release thee from thy burden, I thought of myself too. The husband must be first in the household, and in ours he would be the second. Thou dear one, thou couldst never be anything but kind and good and mild, but all the time thou wouldst look down on me in thy heart, and I should know it in mine. There could be no happiness for either of us. Look," he said, smiling a little sad smile, "thou art like the beautiful clear water that rushes down, evermore down to the lake, and I am like the great dull stone it dashes over."

All comes right, however, at the last, when the terrible Fön blows, destroying farms and wasting lands, killing men and herds, and by the unloosing of the waters reducing the whole village to a wreck. Christian's courage and manliness then win the day; and Else and he recognize the truth of their love, and go back on the way of happiness from which both had wandered. The incidental touches in this picture of desolation are exceedingly good. It is a very pathetic picture altogether, and given with more compression and sharpness than any other in the book.

Of "Sylvia" we cannot give a favourable verdict, for it is simply silly. That a man in love, and therefore partially a lunatic, should give all his worldly wealth to stop a run on the bank where a large part of the money belonging to his beloved's cross-grained, insolent, purse-proud old father lies, may perhaps be possible, but is not at all likely. But that he should induce his friend to do the same thing—his friend who has no interest in the matter save such as belongs to a sneaking kindness for the girl on his own account—is, one may safely say, impossible, granting the perfect sanity of the friend. And when we come to the fact that the lover is a poor sculptor and the friend a by no means wealthy doctor, and that the father to be saved is a millionaire, we think the absurdity is complete.

In "After the Night—Day," which follows this queer little confusion of actions and possibilities, we have the same fault in art as we had in "A Madrigal" with relation to gruff, rough, surly Dick Rolston's death. Vefele Birkin and Otto Meyer are betrothed when the Franco-German war breaks out, which calls Otto from

his fields into the ranks, and leaves Vefele heart-broken, like so many others, to sell her cherries as she best can in the market. Besides Otto, of whom we see very little, Vefele has another lover, one Vincenz Losinger, whom she repulses with scorn, while he turns away from her with a threat which, unformed as it is, means neither more nor less than that he will murder Otto during the war somehow, they being in the same regiment together. Though Vincenz is a "big, handsome young fellow, with frizzly brown hair, and an eye like a hawk," he is not a general favourite, for he is known to be a passionate, unscrupulous man, and people avoid him when they can. When the war is over he comes home alone, wounded, but Otto does not appear at all, nor are tidings to be heard of him anywhere. Vefele then turns passionately against Vincenz and accuses him of having murdered her betrothed; but, cruel as the accusation is, we should scarcely expect from what had gone before that Vincenz would go off to find Otto, who had been wounded in the field, and die in the search. It is as unexpected an act of heroic devotion in a man of violent passions, strong jealousy, and dark moods generally, as generosity in a miser, or courage in a coward; and it jars on the impression made by the earlier description in a way that is fatal to really good art. Nothing is more necessary to keep perfectly clear and continuous than the *vraisemblance* of a character. Even where the influence of events is shown by a change of feelings and actions, this *vraisemblance*, this artistic harmony of tone, ought to be carefully preserved; and in a short story which cannot possibly deal with "evolution" it is of primal necessity. This is just where the author of "A Madrigal" has erred, both in the death of Dick Rolston and the action of Vincenz Losinger. For the rest, "A Story told at Pontresina" is slight and pretty; "My Queen" inconsequent, incomplete, and a little provoking; and "The Three Flags" leaves us in doubt as to which of the two men Lotty did really like—though we think in her heart it is George, whom she does not marry. Still, the stories are above the average with all their defects, and have a sweetness and tenderness which speak to the heart, though at times faults of style irritate the taste.

#### FRENCH LITERATURE.

THE work which M. Desdouits has composed on the philosophy of Kant\* is not only the best account we have as yet seen of the German metaphysician's doctrines, but also the most remarkable and most satisfactory result of the influence exercised by Victor Cousin. Eclecticism may be wrong as a system, but it has done in France a great deal towards the development of historical studies in connexion with philosophy, and M. Desdouits is entitled to a high place on the list of writers which boasts of such names as M. Waddington, M. Ravaisson, M. Hauréan, and M. St.-René Taillandier. The system of Kant is discussed in the book before us by a scholar who sympathizes thoroughly with the *Kritik*, but sees at the same time its weak and assailable points. M. Desdouits places himself at the Christian point of view, and, notwithstanding his evident wish to be perfectly impartial, he will not yield an inch of ground to rationalism. The introduction contains a sketch of the origin and antecedents of Kantism; a review of the system comes next; and, finally, we have an excellent account of its developments and ramifications down to Schopenhauer. We may add that M. Desdouits's monograph obtained one of the prizes awarded by the Académie des Sciences morales et politiques.

Amongst the scientific publications recently issued from the Paris press, one of the most striking is the volume of M. Ferdinand Papillon† edited by M. Charles Lévêque. The biographical notice which introduces it would alone deserve attention, because it shows us the inner life of a young man devoted to the study of nature, honestly seeking for truth, and who, after long remaining under the influence of positivism, rose gradually to a higher conception of nature and its laws. It is impossible to give an adequate idea of M. Papillon's views before M. Lévêque's task is completed; but thus far the work seems to us excellently written, and shows a thorough mastery of the author's subject. We hope that M. Lévêque will soon give us the opportunity of reading the second volume of the *Histoire de la philosophie moderne*.

Very few persons, we imagine, have ever heard the name of M. Ximènes Doudan‡, and yet we are now presented with two thick volumes of letters and essays by that gentleman. We have read them carefully, and we can only say that we shall be glad when there are two more ready for publication. M. Doudan rose from the humble position of usher in one of the Paris Lycées to be the private secretary and intimate friend of the late Duke de Broglie. Subsequently to the year 1826 he lived entirely under the roof of Madame de Staël's eminent son-in-law; he was regarded as an honoured member of the family, and enjoyed opportunities of frequent intercourse with the most distinguished representatives of French society. The names of M. and Mme. d'Haussonville, M. Poirson, M. Kaulin, M. Guizot, M. Thiers, and others, recur constantly in these interesting octavos, which will perhaps be thought quite as fascinating as the famous *Lettres*

\* *La philosophie de Kant, d'après les trois critiques*. Par Th. Desdouits. Paris: Thorin.

† *Histoire de la philosophie moderne dans ses rapports avec le développement des sciences de la nature*. Par F. Papillon. Vol. 1. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

‡ *Mélanges et lettres*. Par X. Doudan. Paris: Lévy.

à une inconnue, though for entirely different reasons. M. Doudan never aspired to the honours of a professed *littérateur*, and a few articles written for the *Journal des Débats* and the *Revue française* are all that he has left in the way of serious critical productions; but his letters abound in valuable remarks on the works and characters of the day, and combine a felicitous irony with depth of thought and literary grace. The prefatory notices for which we are indebted to Count d'Haussonville, M. de Sacy, and M. Cuvillier-Fleury are a graceful tribute to the memory of their departed friend.

The indefatigable M. Charpentier is continuing his excursions in the domains of Renaissance poetry, with the assistance of M. Becq de Fouquières.\* A selection of extracts from the voluminous Ronsard led the way; next came choice pieces from Baif; and now we have to announce the *œuvres choisies* of Joachim du Bellay. Of all the authors belonging to the "Pleiad," the writer who composed the *Défense et illustration de la langue française* is perhaps the best known. M. Sainte-Beuve admired him much, and took him several times as the subject of his ablest articles. As early as 1841 M. Pavie published a volume of Du Bellay's select poems, and M. Marty Laveaux gave in 1866 his complete works. There was not accordingly anything very new left for M. Becq de Fouquières to say, and he has merely aimed at enriching the *Bibliothèque Charpentier* with an elegant anthology carefully annotated in accordance with the plan previously adopted for the corresponding editions of Ronsard and Baif. When this series is finished, readers who are anxious to know what is really worth knowing of the French Pleiad will have at their disposal a choice little library of *chefs-d'œuvre*.

M. Penjon's translation of Professor Lotze's principles of physiological psychology† deserves notice as the symptom of a reaction which is beginning to manifest itself against the gross materialism of the Moleschott and Büchner school of philosophy. A disciple of Herbart, and his successor in the chair of philosophy at Göttingen, Professor Lotze is equally remarkable as a physicist and as a metaphysician. He speaks with authority on both these subjects, and we can fully credit the spiritualist professions of faith uttered by a man whose enthusiasm for physical science is unbounded. The champions of spiritualist doctrines are generally accused by their adversaries of complete ignorance of the laws and phenomena of physical science. Professor Lotze, at any rate, cannot be included in that censure; the distinctive feature of his doctrine is the union which he seeks to bring about between psychology and physiology; and hence his protest against the philosophers who persist in shutting themselves up within the limits of purely experimental researches. The volume before us is a fragment detached from a larger work; it is subdivided into three chapters, and contains, first, a demonstration of the existence of the soul; secondly, a description of what the author calls the physico-psychical mechanism—that is to say, the mutual action of the body and the mind; and lastly, a review of the nature and destiny of the living principle within us.

M. Dollfus is, like Professor Lotze, a zealous and eloquent opponent of materialist views‡; contrary to the disciples of M. Littré, he maintains that the fact of conscience is something totally independent of any organism which lies within the range of chemical and physical investigation. The physiological condition of man, the nature of his outward frame, and of that part of his being which falls under the cognizance of the senses, form, as he contends, a series of facts totally different from those associated with the mind; and the phenomena of sensation itself, independently of any other proof, show that there is in every being a substance which, variously affected by sensations, is not the resultant of these sensations, but the *locus* in which they manifest themselves.

M. Paul Janet has composed a thick octavo volume on the subject of final causes which is intended as an attempt to reconcile the conflicting claims of metaphysical and physical science.§ He begins with a clear statement of the problem to be discussed; and then examines successively the various objections raised against the doctrine of final causes from the time of Bacon and Descartes downwards. Bacon satisfied himself with limiting the doctrine in question to the sphere of metaphysics; the author of the *Discours de la méthode* aimed at suppressing it altogether; and it is curious to observe that his chief antagonist here was an Epicurean, Gassendi. As for the vulgar exaggerations of the theory of final causes, they are of course to be deplored; and when we are seriously told that fleas uniformly go to white articles of dress in order that they may be readily caught, we may well laugh; but there is surely a middle course between Descartes' and Bacon's views and the exaggerated optimism of Leibnitz. By way of appendix to his monograph, M. Janet gives supplementary essays devoted to an inquiry into the various theories put forth by Cuvier, Geoffroy St-Hilaire, Lesage, Voltaire, Rousseau, Leibnitz, Mr. Herbert Spencer, and other philosophers.

M. Renan's new volume ||, like all his numerous productions, is a masterpiece of style; with the exception of George Sand, we hardly know any recent writer who is so thoroughly master of the

resources of the French language. In a book on philosophy, however, we look for something besides mere form, and we want to know whether the author has any fresh views to give us respecting God, man, nature, time, and eternity. M. Renan's present aim is to reconcile the idealism of the Hegelian school with the claims of scientific positivism; and although he professes not to build up a system, but merely to discuss freely a few important metaphysical problems, it is not very difficult to see in what direction his sympathies lie. One thing strikes us forcibly in studying not only this volume, but all the works of M. Renan; we mean his utter want of feeling, which is not the less conspicuous because of the *mignardise* of his pictures, and the poetical dreams which he conjures up with so much effort. We are bound to praise him for his criticism on materialism; as he truly says, movement does not suffice to account for every phenomenon in nature, and selfishness is not the key to the problem of man; but he falls into the gravest errors when he endeavours to bring about the fusion of positivism with idealism, and the result of his system is the negation of God and the destruction of liberty. The volume consists of three dialogues, in which three of the interlocutors successively unfold a system of cosmogony, whilst the two others raise their objections and propose their doubts. These dialogues are followed by two essays, already published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*—namely, one on the science of history and the science of nature, the other on the destinies of metaphysics.

The first two volumes of M. Bougeault's History of Foreign Literature\* have already been noticed in our columns; we have now to say a few words of the third, which contains a survey of the countries of Southern Europe—Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece. The scale of M. Bougeault's work is unfortunately too small to admit of detailed remarks even on the principal writers, and a reference to the notice he gives us of Dante, for instance, will show how very meagre it is. Another defect is the omission of several writers who should have been at least mentioned. The discussion lately started as to the authenticity of Dino Compagni's chronicle was worth naming, and amongst the celebrities of contemporary Italy, Marino, Vigo, and Domenico Comparetti are a few out of a list that might easily be extended, who are entirely passed over. M. Bougeault seems to have neglected many recent contributions to the history of literature, acquaintance with which would have prevented him both from repeating blunders committed by previous critics and from falling into important sins of omission. These remarks apply not only to the part of the volume which treats of Italy, but likewise to the chapters on Spain and Portugal. Why are the Spanish chroniclers so superficially described? Why are the *cançioneiros*, important as they are in the development of Portuguese poetry, disposed of so briefly? We make these remarks the more freely because M. Bougeault's works are, after all, excellent handbooks of their kind, and their obvious defects might easily be removed in a new edition.

M. Jules Claretie's volume on modern art † originally appeared, we believe, as a series of *feuilletons* in the *Indépendance belge*; it comprises notices of the *salons* of 1873-76, biographical sketches of a few distinguished artists, and an official list of the prizes and rewards bestowed by the French Government on the successful competitors. The concluding chapter on M. Baudry's paintings in the new Opera House is interesting, as showing how quickly the action of gas tells upon works of art. The best thing to do would be, of course, either to find some chemical means of destroying that action or to introduce some new system of lighting public edifices; in the meanwhile, the present director of the Fine Arts Department, M. de Chennevières, has obtained a grant which will enable him to secure copies of M. Baudry's frescoes by the best pupil painters; these copies are to be substituted in place of the originals, which will be immediately removed.

Cleverness has taken the place of genius, says M. Claretie, and Decamps, Ary Scheffer, Ingres, and Delacroix have left no successors; let us therefore go back to the past, and accompany M. Fromentin on his journey through the picture galleries of Belgium and Holland.‡ The schools typified by Rubens and Rembrandt respectively are quite distinct from each other, though equally complete and equally perfect. M. Fromentin examines them in the masterpieces of their best representatives, and his notes, which do not aim at being anything more than notes, are the more striking because they are thoroughly free from pedantry and affectation of metaphysical aesthetics. He distinctly repudiates every intention of systematically running counter to acknowledged opinions on well-known pictures; at the same time he does not feel bound *jurare in verba magistri*; he exercises an independent judgment, and would claim credit for having written a suggestive rather than an exhaustive work.

In a very valuable and interesting volume published many years ago M. de Pressensé described the situation of the Gallican Church at the beginning of the French Revolution, arriving at the conclusion that the majority of the *clergé-assermenté*, as they were called, with Grégoire at their head, were really continuing the traditions of the Jansenists, and doing a good religious work, whereas the Concordat of Napoleon must be considered as a dangerous act of despotism, fatal to the best interests of Christianity. M. Jean Wallon has taken nearly the same subject as the

\* *Histoire des littératures étrangères*. Par Alfred Bougeault. Vol. 3. Paris: Plon.

† *L'art et les artistes français contemporains*. Par Jules Claretie. Paris: Charpentier.

‡ *Les maîtres d'autrefois*. Par Eugène Fromentin. Paris: Plon.

\* *Œuvres choisies de Joachim du Bellay*. Publiées par M. Becq de Fouquières. Paris: Charpentier.

† *Principes généraux de psychologie physiologique*. Par Hermann Lotze, traduits de l'allemand par A. Penjon. Paris: Germer-Baillière.

‡ *L'âme dans les phénomènes de conscience*. Par Charles Dollfus. Paris: Germer-Baillière.

§ *Des causes finales*. Par Paul Janet, membre de l'Institut. Paris: Germer-Baillière.

|| *Dialogues et fragments philosophiques*. Par Ernest Renan. Paris: Lery.



theme of his little volume\*, in which he explains thoroughly the situation of the Church in France when the Revolution broke out. His preface is a very able piece of composition; it gives a startling picture of the religious world as it now exists on the other side of the Channel, and shows the necessity of freeing Europe from the network of Jesuitism which surrounds it on all sides. M. Wallon aims at proving, first, that the dignitaries of the French Church ruined their own cause in 1789 by their obstinate clinging to mischievous privileges and to intolerant doctrines; and secondly, that the parish priests, on the other side, and the lower clergy took a useful and honourable part in the constitution of modern society by bringing about the reunion of the three orders. The condition of the Church, he says, is extremely precarious, no doubt; but, as madness cannot be cured by pestilence, so Positivism is not a remedy to oppose to Ultramontaniam. Nations, he tells us, prosper by faith; and our duty therefore is to throw new life into Christianity. M. Wallon proposes to wait till the death of Pius IX., then to call a national Council, and to frame a code of organic laws which shall protect both the bishops against the intrigues of the Roman Curia and the inferior clergy against the possible despotism of their superiors. The *pieces justificatives* added to his volume are important and valuable.

It is easy to show the faults committed at different times by the Roman Catholic priesthood, but the historian performs a more agreeable task when he dwells on the acts of heroism and of Christian charity performed by obscure monks, nuns, or curates in the hospitals, on the field of battle, amongst the sick, the wounded, the plague-stricken, and the dying. Such is the touching picture unfolded by Baron Ambert in his work†, and his narrative of the attitude assumed by the French clergy during the Franco-German war is full of interest.

The second volume of M. Zeller's History of Germany‡ has lately been published. It is entirely devoted to an account of the War of Investitures, and of the quarrels between the Emperors and the Popes; it finishes with the reign of Henry V. No one can read attentively the history of these dissensions without seeing how lamentably they told upon the progress of civilization. As M. Zeller remarks, the intellectual development of the country was stopped, and, with the exception of a few polemical writings, the chronicles belonging to that period are palpably inferior to those of earlier times. By seeking, not only to domineer over the Church, but to take its place, the Emperors prepared the way for an inevitable reaction; Germany became weakened both within and without; the Church was set free; and the national independence of Italy, France, Hungary, Bohemia, and the Scandinavian States checked successfully the ambitious designs of the Emperors.

M. Henri Dufay's *Etudes sur la destinée*§ is one of the numerous metaphysical works which have lately been published. The author begins by saying that materialism will not satisfy a thinking and reasonable creature. It is well that we should know the conditions of physical life; but our aspirations carry us higher, and not all the united efforts of M. Littré, M. Weyrouboff, and M. Robin can get rid of the problem of a future life. M. Dufay therefore starts on his journey of investigation, exploring successively the domains of religion, natural science, and metaphysics. His views of religion are of the oddest kind; for he destroys at once the very basis of faith, and devotes nearly half his volume to the discussion of a source of knowledge the foundation of which he sweeps away. According to him, the key to the mystery of man's destiny is supplied by the doctrine of perfectibility which Turgot and Condorcet taught, and which the theory of evolution has completed.

We are glad to have to notice a new edition of Messrs. Haag's useful work, *La France protestante*||. Since its first publication many fresh documents have been discovered, bearing upon the history of Protestantism; and, moreover, it was obvious that so extensive a work, however carefully prepared, must have shared the lot of all similar compilations—errors of date, omissions, and clerical blunders. Even Bayle had to be corrected by Chauffepié, and Ducange by Carpentier; why should *La France protestante* be more fortunate? In short, M. Henri Bordier has undertaken to bring out a new edition of Messrs. Haag's admirable work, thoroughly revised, and the first *fasciculus* is now before us, taking us as far as the article on D'Aubigné. This Protestant biographical dictionary will, it is expected, be completed in ten volumes, comprising each two parts.

Amongst recent books on travel we may notice M. Xavier Eyma's¶ amusing notes of a trip to the United States, and M. Piron's illustrated description of the island of Cuba\*\*, and of society there.

The novels before us are of the usual type, the only really superior one we have observed being M. l'abbé Hurel's *Flaviatt*†, in

which a great deal of antiquarian knowledge is combined with a well-constructed story, for the purpose of placing before the reader a picture of early Christianity.

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